Best of Acquaintances: An Ethnography of Radio-Canada's newsroom

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines how Radio-Canada Montreal addresses the representation of visible minorities both on-air and in its news and information staffing practices. By deploying an ethnographic approach, which combines newsroom observations with semi-structured and open-ended interviews with journalists and managers, the thesis investigates the impact of federal and provincial policies aimed at the integration of new arrivals into Quebec society. Radio-Canada's flagship newscast, Le Téléjournal 18h, lies at the core of the study and provides a means to measure the number of news stories involving visible minority communities. This baseline, grounded in content, is then examined through the lens of the news workers who craft the program for public consumption. The thesis finds that there is growing institutional awareness on matters pertaining to representation but obstacles remain to a full and genuine embrace of visible minority issues and concerns both inside the newsroom and in the Montreal community. The thesis posits that there are two distinct movements within the newsroom's day-to-day culture. The first is a kind of "insular unfamiliarity" among traditional Québécois news workers that persists in enabling the labeling of "others" as somehow foreign. The second – predominantly comprising news workers of colour – is dedicated to pushing back when matters of prejudice, perceived and real, longstanding and recent, are expressed in the dominant culture norms of professional interaction.

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Introduction

In 2014, one of the widest read newspapers in Canada did something unorthodox: the *Toronto Star* admitted to its readers, particularly those from visible minority communities, that it "still falls short of producing a newspaper and website that looks like the Toronto we see when we walk our city streets."[1] But this *mea culpa* of sorts, however laudable, was not exactly "breaking news." A study by Ryerson University professor John Miller, written a decade previously and still the most extensive analysis to date on the racial and ethnic makeup of Canadian newsrooms, had come to a similar conclusion.[2] Miller found that "non-whites constitute 3.4 percent of the newsgathering staffs of 37 papers that returned questionnaires." While this was, technically, an increase from ten years before, the uptick did "not keep pace with the huge increase of visible minorities and Aboriginal people in the Canadian population." According to the Canadian census, "people of colour made up 16.7 percent of the population … up from 11.7 percent in 1991."

In Quebec matters of inclusive practices in journalism have been largely overlooked. Concerns around the poor representation of minorities in the Quebec media have mostly been expressed, sporadically, in reaction to the entertainment industry. One incident that has garnered much attention occurred in January 2016. Quebec actor and television producer Louis Morrissette, the man behind a year-end comedy show on Radio-Canada (R-C), *Bye Bye,* complained about being strong-armed by the network into hiring a black actor to play a black character he was lampooning on his show. The request was made by Radio-Canada on the heels of a controversy, a few years before, in which a white character on Morrissette's show was disguised in blackface to impersonate a black Quebec personality. Morrissette likened to "mosquitos" those who complained about a black personality being made fun of.[3] He explained that being forced to add a minority actor to his show's predominantly white male cast and not being able to use blackface on a white actor infringed on his freedom of speech. A few weeks after the article's publication a petition calling out these comments gathered several hundred signatures within a few hours, and nearly 2,000 overall. Morrissette described himself as "shaken" in the wake of the public reactions against his stance.[4] He, who had produced seven out of the latest eight *Bye Bye* editions, announced a few weeks after the controversy that he would not produce the next instalment.

That is not to say there has been no public introspection on the topic of newsroom inclusion in Quebec. The Montreal *Gazette*'s Basem Boshra, a city columnist at the paper, penned one of the rare public columns on the issue around the time of the Morissette controversy. In his piece, Boshra admitted that, "I am indeed one of the lucky ones" when hearing "of the struggles of fellow journalists of colour — or even when I look around my own newsroom, which is predominantly white."[5] He then went on to say that he has "always been loath to have my ethnicity define my work, or my place in the newsroom." His concern stemmed from not wanting "to become the 'ethnic' guy at the office, a token of workplace diversity."

Because the *Gazette*'s newsroom had for some time been experiencing the same financial difficulties felt by others in North America, the risk of newsroom organizations further downplaying ethnic and racial inclusion was all the more concerning. A case in point was Radio Canada's Employment Equity 2015 report, a federal document all Canadian electronic media companies send to the government every year. In it R-C admitted that financial pressures "may slow (…) achieving a fully diverse and representative workforce" (Radio-Canada, 2015).[6] The report looked at initiatives the network performed throughout the year, but did not touch upon the news division in great detail, other than by declaring that "for News, Current Affairs and Radio, Radio-Canada has the capacity to do a minute analysis of every program … by tracking on-air diversity."[7] What's more, 5.9% of news workers from the Montreal office self-identify as minorities.[8]

Downplaying the heterogeneity of newsrooms is a mistake, a worrisome one if my experience as a minority Quebecer serves as an indicator. I grew up around many ethnic groups, at my French-speaking school and in my predominantly Anglophone neighbourhood. Like many in the late 60s, my parents sought asylum in Canada, where they eventually met, to escape the unnatural type of death Jean-Claude Duvalier randomly reserved for Haitians under his dictatorship. Unlike many other North-American blacks who grew up here, I encountered the word *nigger* (whether in French or English) more often on TV than in real life. But digs at my black "lingo," by thickly accented Québécois schoolmates, often felt disrespectful; ape-like gyrations to mimic rappers, a music genre primarily associated with black males, were just as unsettling, as were any interactions with middle-aged Québécois men, which had me often

expecting the worst.[1] Maybe this is why I (and many other minorities, visible and ethnic) was not surprised by the 1995 referendum's famous words regarding so-called "ethnics." Actually, what was genuinely astounding about Premier Jacques Parizeau's blaming "the ethnic vote" for his failure to achieve sovereignty was hearing the words out loud.

As far as I could remember Quebecers walked a tightrope in the esteem of most visible minorities I knew. The same kind of shaky ground we imagined teetering in theirs. Many of us even doubted their sincerity when they addressed us. We imagined they really spoke their mind about our food, hygienic habits, and our relationship with hard work in spaces beyond ear's reach … unless, of course, an incident too difficult for them to repress made their thoughts overflow onto their lips. Even their tamer comments felt uncomfortable. For example, a Québécois pronouncing the word 'black' in "joual," the local parlance, was often looked at by people I knew as code for "nègre" ("nigger") … never mind that the two words have an utterly different sound, spelling and pronunciation!

Yet much of this never felt like a big deal in everyday life. Don't get me wrong: many of the visible minorities I knew understood that we were considered asterisks to what constituted "real" Quebecers. But as a child, even though I had the distinct feeling of being in a parallel lane to what was considered "the norm," the resulting feeling lurked only in the back of my mind or surfaced in private conversations and jokes I shared with my minority friends. After all, the United States provided egregious differences with the life we lived here. The Klu Klux Kan was not part of a reality I expected in my country, as U.S. blacks did in theirs; nor was a city burning (as did L.A., twice in 30 years) after four cops treated Rodney King's body with the same kind of aggression most of us would deal with a burning car's jammed door. The kind of rife business that regularly made the U.S. news (or for star-studded Spike Lee movies) rarely happened here. Looking away was fairly easy.

But it was behind the everyday odourless waft of casual disregard from the Québécois majority, in the written word, that the province showed itself to me as not being above such American-associated phenomena. In 2010, the newspaper *La Presse* reported on a study from the Montreal police that its executives deemed unfit for public eyes. The piece detailed that racial profiling was an issue in Montreal. As *La Presse* reported, in certain neighbourhoods, especially

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[1] This thesis has opted for "Quebecois," out of the various terms used to identify traditional white francophone Quebecers, as it is widely recognized that the "expression 'Quebecois' remains associated with Franco-Quebecois (or Quebecois of French ancestry)." (See Fortin 91)

impoverished ones north of the urban centre, 40 percent of blacks between 2006 and 2007 had their identity randomly checked, while this happened to just five or six percent of whites.[9] These checks targeted mainly Africans, Haitians and Jamaicans. In two out of three cases, the blacks who had been stopped had no ties to street gangs. In addition, two thirds of whites were stopped for reasons tied to concrete events, such as outstanding warrants, while the same ratio of black individuals were stopped for vague reasons.[10]

Another Quebec study, published in 2012, tackled job discrimination. Its authors sent out fake resumes to real job ads from two sets of candidates. Some of the "applicants" had typical Québécois names and others had Arab, Latino or South-Asian ones. About 35 percent of the visible minority candidates were not called for an interview. This number went as high as 40 percent in human resources-related positions; in other words, the study's authors noted, discriminatory behaviour was at its highest for jobs that called for daily interactions with colleagues and higher-ups (as opposed to interactions with customers). The authors thus concluded that, "equipped with comparable qualifications, someone named Tremblay or Bélanger had at least a 60% greater chance to be called for an interview than someone named Sanchez, Ben Saïd or Traoré." These results indicated that the Quebec job market was not merely based on "an unequal distribution of knowledge and qualifications, but was also based on employers' discriminatory preferences."[11]

It was a few years after the referendum that my interest in news media sprouted. The relationship between network ownership and coverage first caught my eye: particularly NBC's favorable stance on the Gulf War as its parent company, General Electric, was manufacturing the very bombs at the center of the conflict. The famous "If it bleeds, it leads" saying also captured my imagination, with its focus on crime, even when it turned out that crime in real life was on the decline. Work on audiences and who is considered important enough to be addressed because of their buying power (or lack thereof) piqued my curiosity as well. This is when I began thinking about news media, this stained and rigged mirror of society, and how it seemed to think that I and other "visible" Quebecers existed only when it needed to warn society of imminent threats.

Most of these supposedly uneducated and supposedly educated people looking at me this way might not have longed to see my limp body dangling from a tree branch (though whether from decency, some French *joie de vivre* mixed with laziness, or simply because hockey was a

worthier pastime, I wasn't exactly sure). But despite not harbouring the type of rage manifested in the U.S. south, the odourless waft of casual disregard became too difficult for me to avoid: it became apparent to me that to many Québécois the asterisk on my forehead was about the size of a fire hydrant. The 1995 referendum comments were part of a growing, undisguised list of cultural exclusionary practices in Quebec. They paralleled the 2014 Charter of Values, a secularization bill of broad popular support, widely seen as targeting Muslims.[12]

The province and its history with minorities, which has been fraught with awkwardness ever since waves of minorities arrived some fifty years ago, made these discriminatory manifestations almost boringly predictable. European countries, where most immigrants had come from until the 1960s, had become more stable as developing nations experienced the opposite, occasioning a rise in Canadian immigration. But Bauer notes that this rise occurred at a much higher rate in Quebec than throughout the country, which contributed to the unease.[13] For starters, people and institutions, including the governments of the time, were generally confused about what constituted immigrants and minorities. Immigrants are people who were not born in Canada and seek a life here, whereas minorities – including original inhabitants – are groups whose members belong to communities broken down by ethnicity, culture and religion (to mention a few) that happen to be different than long-time French Canadians and English Canadians.[14] But Quebec governmental documentation rarely made such a distinction. At one time, it even performed a census by setting its sights on "associations and parishes," a peculiar strategy since it ignored non-Christians. Bauer adds that even the name of the "ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration" (department of cultural communities and immigration), coined in 1981, implied that minorities (which by definition includes individuals born in Canada) were perceived not as regular Quebecers, but as permanent immigrants. The department's current name, *Immigration, Diversité et Inclusion Québec*, was adopted by the newly elected Couillard government in 2014 as a reaction to the PQ's Charter of values.

Moreover, governmental initiatives in place pertained more to the act of learning French than actually integrating these new members of Quebec society into the province's workforce. Such arrangements created dissonance in the eyes of several generations of visible minority Quebecers. Bauer explains that, faced with a school system that did not acknowledge their non-French Catholic background and whose parents mostly dealt with the federal government upon their arrival, second-generation Quebecers (and later ones) could not accept a system that

perennially looked at them as immigrants. In fact, this feeling carried on over time. A November 2015 study found that "visible minorities tend to resemble the population of the province where they reside, except in Quebec where federal … attachments are stronger and provincial links are weaker than they are among other Quebecers."[15]

These sentiments have been borne out by real-life evidence in the Quebec life of visible minorities. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) notes that the integration of immigrants into the Montreal job market remains problematic.[16] The report highlights that immigrants that have arrived in the country in the last five years or less are more likely to be unemployed than those in Toronto and Vancouver. Moreover, immigrants that have lived here for more than a decade experience a higher rate of unemployment in comparison to the general Canadian population, unlike in Toronto and Vancouver.

In addition, university graduates from visible minority communities who were *born in Quebec* are twice as likely as non-visible minorities to be unemployed.[17] This is why Paul Eid warns that "immigrant" should not be a catchall term when it comes to unemployment numbers. While non-visible minority immigrants' "unemployment rates and average income … align with their socio-demographic profile and qualifications after a few years … visible minorities' remain unaligned for much longer."[18]

For these reasons, it is a central theme of this thesis that part of why many Canadian newsrooms fail at being more inclusive lies in the inner-workings of Canadian and, in the present case, Quebec institutions whose core values promote supposed diversity but in real practice often do not. In the process this failure becomes an indirect declaration of whose experience we value, perpetuating "an unequal distribution of power between those who talk about ethnicity and those who are talked about."[19]

This thesis then seeks to examine how this failure, and its impact on visible minority inclusion in Quebec media, plays out in the daily workings of a major newscast. It is particularly concerned with how Radio-Canada's news service covers a city as diverse as Montreal, which identifies nearly a third of its population as visible minorities.[20] It seeks to examine the cultural composition of the Montrealers who both illustrate the daily news to their community and who are responsible for editorial decisions about that news.

In other words, this study's central aim is to understand how Montreal's minority communities are factored into R-C's newsgathering process in light of the network's overall

dearth of minority reporters. It is clear that minority Quebecers do not experience the same Quebec (or Canada) as the one non-whites share with them. This thesis takes the position that Radio-Canada, in spite of some sensitivity to the inclusion of visible minorities in its newsrooms and its coverage, faces organizational obstacles in the way of equitable practices. This triggers several research questions.

- *How is the newsroom run? What are its everyday processes?*
- *Have the cutbacks R-C experienced in the past year prevented reporters from covering complex issues involving non-dominant communities?*
- *What are the minorities-related problems the network has discovered?*
- *How has it tackled them? Does the organization display any progressive practices, organizationally and on the air?*

The study, in support of this thesis, monitored the station's six o'clock newscast, *Le Téléjournal 18 h* (Le TJ 18h), a highly regarded opinion leader in the majority French-speaking Montreal community. While, overall, *Le Téléjournal's* newscasts featured a fair number of minorities from various walks of life, the road for some of the minority-based stories to make it on the air, especially those related to Arab Quebecers, was not always straightforward.[21] As a matter of interest it is worth noting here that it was the host of Le TJ 18h's weeknight edition – the member of the show who was in general the most vocal during editorial meetings – who pushed for several pieces featuring visible minorities, especially when it came to stories pertaining to the Arab community.

In fact, it is when I spoke to members of minority groups inside R-C, as well as the station's diversity department director, Luc Simard, that the station's tallest obstacles became apparent with respect to achieving a more inclusive newsroom. Two distinct "movements" were at work at the station. On one hand was that of a kind of insular unfamiliarity; that is to say, the predominantly traditional Québécois staff were largely thought of as either imposing obstacles on those who were not part of the majority, or as seeing and treating non-traditional Québécois as "foreign." Simard illustrated this reality with the example of radio shows whose decision-makers would not put on the air a reporter because of the individual's accent. This insularity also spilled into selecting Québécois for jobs because of the tendency of decision-makers to rely on

personal contacts when making hiring decisions. On the other hand, another movement – largely made up of news workers of colour – aimed to confront the often covert prejudices of dominant-culture colleagues as each group went about its everyday functions.

These initial observations ought to dispel the false idea widely adhered to that since "we occupy the same society and belong to roughly the same 'culture'" we are therefore under "only one perspective on events."[22] If in a country high on its multicultural openness "64 per cent of respondents ... said it [multiculturalism] appears to allow for the pursuit of cultural practices that are incompatible with Canadian laws and norms," such as "wearing of religious garb – hijabs, burkas and turbans – in public or security settings" then this society owes itself – and especially those members most vulnerable to discrimination – extensive introspection.[23] The research questions mobilized for this thesis are intended to home in on the way we talk about those people we consider, on paper at least, to be full-fledged Canadians. The same people whose day-to-day treatment differs when the natural, everyday reactions and inner workings of Montreal's diverse urban society are revealed. These disparities call for an understanding of how these gaps manifest themselves, and how wide they are.

Because journalism is a product of the society it operates in, but also deeply implicated in the health and wellbeing of functioning democracies, the risks inherent in these gaps in the social and political fabric are both pernicious and often difficult to identify.[24] Indeed, as Marshall McLuhan is apocryphally credited with noting: "one thing about which fish know exactly nothing is water, since they have no anti-environment which would enable them to perceive the element they live in."[25] But if we agree that "(p)eople obtain knowledge of the world outside their immediate experience largely from mass media," then there is a double reason to be concerned and active in search of solutions, not only because of full-fledged citizens, who happen to be non-whites, being relegated to the status of "outlier," but also because of the Canadian news media's history of unreliable treatment of minorities.[26]

A newsroom ethnography was the best method to find out about the inner-workings of news organizations, particularly how they approached minority hiring, and to analyze their inclusion (or lack thereof) of minorities. This seemed obvious given that while "historians suggest that history must be rewritten by each generation" and "anthropologists consider … that different observers will see different phenomena"[27] journalists have "a far thinner critical (Critical with a capital 'C', perhaps) tradition."[28] Uncovering and understanding the realities and

viewpoints of working journalists requires access to the organizations they live and breathe in, which made an ethnography both sensible and essential.

I first met with Luc Simard in Fall 2014 as part of a graduate studies project concerning practices in Quebec media organizations in relation to visible minorities. My aim was to get an introductory view of how one of Montreal's (and the country's) major news organizations approached minority staffing and covered the city's communities. Simard and I spoke again the following year for a news article I wanted to write on his department. It was around this time, in the summer of 2015, that I decided to take on this project.

But being able to perform this study was not without its hurdles. In fact, when I emailed Simard with the idea in mid-September 2015, he began his reply by stating that R-C rarely admits members of the public into the CDI, otherwise known as the "Centre de l'information" (news complex or news centre). He requested a one-page proposal of the project and relayed this information to Michel Cormier, Radio-Canada's executive director for news and current affairs. Then Simard's secretary set up a meeting with the three of us for October 31.

Cormier green-lighted the project during this meeting, which lasted roughly 30 minutes. I proposed to complete my study, submit it to both him and Simard and add in the report any details they deemed fit to point out. I did not detect any significant pushback from Cormier, though he did make light, with some discomfort, of the fact I might witness conversations of a personal nature among the workers that may not have been intended for my ears. He trailed away onto another topic without requesting that limits or guidelines be attached to my study. I presumed the comment about "personal conversations" was a mark of discomfort with my level of access. After the meeting, Simard gave me a tour of the newsroom and introduced me to some of its staff.

The thesis's chapters will unfold in the following sequence. Chapter Two examines four aspects of newsroom practices when it comes to inclusion, both in the TJ 18h newsroom and in the content it produces. The aspects are, broadly: Canadian legislation concerning media content; what academia has had to say about media hiring practices, but also some of the ramifications in terms of news content in light of the lack of minorities; the organizational nature that powers news work and how it affects visible minorities' inclusion and exclusion; and social media, not just as a financial lifeboat to the news business, but how Radio-Canada has used it to continue fulfilling its public mission.

Chapter Three will delve into the why and how of the methodology. An ethnography is a tool that is most likely to generate a wealth of information, but it is also one, because it is based on human interaction, that hinges on unpredictability. This section will not only look into why choosing an ethnographic study was the best approach for studying Radio-Canada's newsroom, and how the ethnography was performed, but it will also look at the expectations before entering the newsroom environment, how those expectations changed and what caused them to change.

Chapter Four, for its part, presents the study's findings in two main sections. The first deals with Radio-Canada's newsroom – the physical working space – by presenting its inner-workings through the lens of an informal content analysis of Le TJ 18h's journalistic programming, including the treatment of four stories the newscast worked on during the period under study. The second section presents the findings from my conversations with Radio-Canada employees. These conversations will address the work of Simard's department, as well as the comments I collected speaking to Radio-Canada staff.

Chapter Five, the conclusion of this thesis analyzes these findings through a reinvestigation of the research questions by homing in on the themes of repetition and insistence, which a few of the interviewees noted were recurring initiatives in their work. This section will also look into potential avenues for further research in light of some of the study's observations.

Chapter 2: Literature review

Minority rights have been a longstanding issue in Canada, but also in the world. In fact, as Tove H. Malloy contends, along with religious freedom (contested in Europe since the sixteenth century) "minority rights predate human rights."[29] One of the challenges Canada faces with respect to inclusiveness involves its relationship with Quebec, whose "native language will eventually die out if the minorities are not supported in their effort to reinforce the use of it." But it is ethnicity that, "at the end of the twentieth century … had become one of the primary bases for serious … stereotyping, xenophobia, and social exclusion." As a result, members of these groups are not only denied access to employment, but also endure strife over how "their ethnicity or religious customs … conflict with the late modern globalized and homogenized lifestyle."[30]

Malloy goes on to say that minority rights are considered "controversial" because, by definition, they "are not universal within a society" and involve "specific groups that have achieved legitimacy to be eligible for special treatment in the political distribution of rights." From this angle, the problem thus lies in a "clash with the principle of equality … irrespective of culture, race, religion, linguistics, ethnicity, or national origin."[31]

But, according to Albert Dzur, such a view is based on the irrefutable success of official and supposedly equitable initiatives. The author instead argues that "though a public forum may be inclusive in that its participants are not constrained by a lack of deliberative resources" it may be "still lacking equal opportunity to influence the policy debate."[32] One instance of such a discrepancy is the gender pay gap, despite women's access to the workplace, which is "similar, substantial and significant" in both Canada and Britain.[33] Another discrepancy is highlighted by the practice of carding, a continuing source of agitation in Toronto and other cities, which entails police "stopping and questioning individuals and collecting details on their appearance, age, gender, location, mode of transportation and skin colour."[34] The use of this method is seen by many as questionable given that "police stop and document minorities at much higher rates across the city," yet "only a small percentage of the people in their massive electronic database have been arrested or charged in Toronto in the past decade."[35] Bohman thus suggests that fairness is not solely based on "equality of opportunity," since one may suffer from "a group-

related inability to make effective use of opportunities to influence."[36] This opportunity has to also be paired with "equality of political capacities," in the larger sense of the term, with respect to democratic ideals.[37]

Multiculturalism is an alternative policy of inclusion implemented by the Canadian government to "enact active protection and perhaps support in the maintenance and development of the minority culture."[38] It is described as "the belief that racial, ethnic, and other groups should maintain their distinctive cultures within society yet live together with mutual tolerance and respect."[39] The policy thus promotes the "tolerance for members of other groups toward acknowledgment of their positive value." The Canadian government sees the approach as "a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage."[40]

The policy of multiculturalism is considered by many to support what John Rawls calls "constitutional essentials," attained through "measures … required to assure that the basic needs of all citizens can be met so that they can take part in political and social life."[41] This explains, when it comes to mass media, the implementation of the Broadcasting Act, which regulates Canada's public airwaves, including the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), to ostensibly make the "broadcasting system" a "'fair' representation of the population … both within media institutional administrations and as the subjects of normalized media texts."[42] Ostensibly so because, "it has been suggested that this law is regularly disregarded in Canadian press, radio, and television accounts,"[43] but that also, as Jane Warren notes: "There is much to question … about the metaphorics of such statements, which are commonplace and entirely unexamined in policy documents."[44]

Mark Deuze points out that since "multiculturalism … signals the need for journalists to become much more aware of entrenched inequalities in society,"[45] it is "one of the foremost issues in journalism."[46] The author notes that at the heart of multiculturalism's relationship with media lies "three central issues:" the "knowledge of journalists about different cultures and ethnicities;" "perceived social responsibilities of journalists in a democratic and multicultural society;" and "issues of representation."[47] Frances Henry and Carol Tator point out that reporters' awareness of the responsibilities related to multiculturalism is necessary because "journalists cannot claim to be on the front lines of free expression when the very composition of their workplaces restricts debate."[48]

But Simon Cottle sees in the approach once "converted into an 'ism' – 'multiculturalism' – as it so often is today" a mechanism that "tends to flatten thinking about cultural heterogeneity and glosses over the differentials of power and historical privilege embedded in the institutions."[49] This is why Lorna Roth argues against the use of the popular term "diversity." The author notes that "Canadian policymakers … have taken existing evidence of 'inequality' and renamed it 'diversity,'" which "makes it easier to mask cultural and racial hierarchy and marginalization."[50]

Power differentials certainly exist between ethnic groups. Erin Tolley rejects any supposed equivalence between minorities, ethnic and visible, and describes it as a smokescreen given the difference in obstacles both sets of members face. Even though "ethnic minorities have historically faced discrimination, the gap between them and other Canadians was arguably always smaller than that between whites and non-white Canadians."[51] This stems from "the ability to blend in … altering their surnames … or concealing their accents." Tolley concludes that, "race, not ethnicity … marks some of the most significant disparities among Canadians." In this vein, Backhouse suggests, concerning the "'mythology of 'racelessness," that it is one of the "pillars of the Canadian history of race."[52]

In organizations where multicultural hiring is not mandatory the imbalance in the workforce is clear: whiteness is the dominating faction in most privately owned Canadian newsrooms. The term "whiteness" is not exclusively determined by pigmentation here as much as the "hegemonic dominance to those who are admitted to its privileges."[53] As a result the news industry as a whole has also experienced its fair share of struggles in terms of inclusiveness, as was highlighted in the *Toronto Star* article referenced in the first chapter.[54]

A contributing factor to the predominance of whiteness has come from a reluctance among those in charge to question or change traditional decisions and perspectives. One of the questions Miller's study asked was whether or not "your newsroom's tradition and culture are impeding the hiring and progress of minorities."[55] While "they were almost unanimous: No, it was not" the study had a high number of non-respondents who justified their abstention by citing "discomfort" with the question. Others responded with what appeared to be non-committal answers. Some stated that they "feel uncomfortable even talking about this."[56] Moreover, "at least two publishers at CanWest newspapers refused to let their editors complete the questionnaire."[57] One of them declared that giving such information would be illegal without

producing specific legislation compelling them to do so. Given the comparatively low number of newspapers that participated in the study and some of the answers justifying non-participation, diverse representation appears to be an issue many news organizations would rather sidestep.

As is the case for other Canadian newsrooms, understanding the practices of media organizations in Quebec requires looking at how they operate in the larger social context. In the case of Quebec, this means looking at the power differentials, especially those revolving around language, in an historical context. This is important given that, while "economic conditions, class, gender, and race" are "central to the Quebec experience," John A. Dickinson and Brian Young point to "Quebec's distinctness" as a major element that explains Quebec society.[58] In fact, Quebec was eying its autonomy long before the first sovereignty referendum, in 1980. Already in the late nineteenth century "francophobe elements in Ontario and New Brunswick" were major considerations in a growing list of factors that made the province consider secession.[59]

These misgivings were compounded with the fact that, until the 1960s, French-speaking Quebecers were in a situation that many have described as akin to servitude. Even though rural Quebec was "massively French speaking … a multicultural metropolis [Montreal] … while 60 per cent francophone, still appeared to be very English."[60] The repercussions from this demographic reality were detrimental for those of French descent: Quebecers were beset by "English dominance … and linguistic division of labour saw francophones largely confined to unskilled work while people of British origin held the better-paying jobs."[61] Indeed, The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism found that the average salary of citizens of unilingual British descent in Quebec was $6,049 while those of French descent who were bilingual was $4,523.[62] This was an addition to "chronic underrepresentation of French speakers in federal institutions" under laws governing everyday life that benefited those of British descent.[63]

The Quiet Revolution signalled a turn of the tide. It revolved around "an emerging identity based on a common language, French, and a precise territory, Quebec."[64] A major part of this shift involved "doctors, teachers, journalists, engineers, and public administrators reject[ing] traditional Catholic values in favour of secularism"[65] and vying to "produce qualified professionals who could compete with anglophones on an even footing."[66] Not only was the use of French championed in the workplace, but this new direction "nurtured a strong francophone

business bourgeoisie." Within this new group were the original owners of the media companies Power Corporation and Québécor, which remain in control of the province's two biggest papers: respectively, *La Presse* (now *La Presse+*) and *Le Journal de Montreal*. As a result: "By the end of the 1980s, almost two-thirds of employment was in companies controlled by francophones." Not only did these businesses thrive, but "the rapidly expanding state bureaucracy gave employment to francophone professionals" as well.[67]

Yet for all the shift in power the Quiet Revolution produced, from the anglophone minority to the francophone majority, Bourhis et al. highlight in a 2007 paper that discrimination in Quebec is at its most damaging in the job market.[68] The trend is most noticeable in the Quebec government, which is the province's largest employer. Discrimination against anglophone Quebecers and Quebecers from cultural communities is not the result of a supposed incapacity to speak French or a lack of skills. Rather, the problem lies in organizations whose decision-makers focus their search efforts on candidates of French descent, by word of mouth through their own social circles. This limits the likelihood of coming in contact or hiring anglophones, minorities or immigrants in the process. In fact, these openings may not be posted publicly altogether. And when members from these groups do step forward, government managers tend to favour candidates who share the same cultural and linguistic references.[2] In a December 2014 report, the *Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse* pointed to a similar scenario in numbers. The largest organization, Hydro-Québec, employed 312 visible minority Quebecers out of a workforce of almost 22,000. Another large employer, the Société des alcools du Québec, had 38 visible minorities in its ranks out of a total of close to 6,000 employees.[69]

Discrimination is of particular concern, including for new Quebecers, since, as Bourhis et al. argue, native anglophone and francophone Quebecers point to their language and accent as being the main reason they have feel discriminated against. The significance of language in Quebec goes beyond culture and also affects the province's legal and policy arenas. This is how, despite still being a part of Canada, Quebec society is bound, as a Canadian province, to

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[2] In fact, the relationship between openness to and acquaintanceship with members of other cultures bears out even in everyday encounters. In *Cracking the Quebec Code*, Jean Marc Léger cites research his poll company conducted to examine Quebecers' attitudes towards visible minorities. In the experiment, "we invited a person from a visible minority [an "accomplice"] to take a seat in the room before the meeting" before the real participants entered the room. Léger notes that "[e]veryone who entered afterward sat as far as possible from our accomplice–except for one individual who immediately took a seat next to him." As it turned out this one individual ended up being the "only person who told us they do have regular interaction ["with people from other ethnocultural communities"]." (See Léger, Nantel, Duhamel 86)

multiculturalism, but is also guided by interculturalism, an "active political strategy designed to combine relative openness to … international migration, with a commitment to the maintenance of a coherent national community."[70] Cory Blad and Philippe Couton call interculturalism "a close cousin of Canadian multiculturalism with several important differences," with "the most prominent" being "the explicit dominance of the French."[71] In fact, in its action plan to tackle discrimination, the Quebec government notes that "Québec's rich experience … too often remains informal, diffuse, and unrecognized" after it establishes that "The Government of Québec holds that interculturalism is the model to follow."[72]

Azzeddine Marhraoui notes that since the end of the 1970s the Quebec government has put forward initiatives to promote diversity, but that the measures have generally been non-committal.[73] The author points out the unwillingness of two non-consecutive Liberal governments, through two official documents produced within 14 years, to tackle racism's group-based dynamics. The government, focusing instead on racism as the result of racist individuals, ignores the institutional nature of discrimination. It can be found, for instance, in the shunning of many new Quebecers whose diplomas are not recognized once they settle in the province. Marhraoui says the persistence of these challenges and the government's lack of will to counter institutional obstacles reveals a low level of commitment from the government to truly stamp out racism. In 2016, the government addressed the issue of widespread discrimination in the action plan, mentioned above, when pointing to "the deficit of participation [in the "civic framework"] that immigrants and ethnocultural minorities experience due to persistent inequalities and systemic discrimination."[74]

As far as Quebec media representation is concerned, the *Conseil des relations interculturelles* concludes that very little data is available about inclusiveness-oriented practices in the Quebec media industries.[75] But Warren suggests "that the nation-project of inventing francophone Québec against anglophone Canada … has been pursued, in television fiction, at the expense of the nation-project of multi-ethnic Québec."[76] Alice Tchandem Kamgang, in her study analyzing CBC and Radio-Canada's ten o'clock newscasts, notes that visible minority reporters at CBC more often reported on international stories while the pieces R-C's reporters tackled were more varied and not as tied to ethnic individuals or ethnicity (*les thèmes … n'ont pas essentiellement un caractère ethnique*).[77] Tchandem Kamgang adds that most of the newscasts' coverage, both at R-C and CBC, that touched on the lives of visible minorities were international

pieces. Such coverage, she suggests, is a violation of the Broadcasting Act since the stories neglect focusing attention on the lives and realities of visible minority Canadians.

Elsewhere, the very question of representation has not been only bothersome to media professionals, it is seen as contrary to the mission of journalism. Some have stated, as one anonymous news worker did during the course of a newsroom study, that "it's not our job to promote or not promote diversity."[78] Yet journalism being "a forum for diverse views" is one of the "main components in the range of ideas about media roles in society."[79] This definition has been generally accepted in the United States for some time, expressed either through the 19th century class-based press or the muckraking brand that appeared some hundred years later.[80] The appearance of muckrakers marked a new type of representation, shaped around the principles "of American democracy."[81] Journalism was thus shifting from clusters of audiences, associated with the partisan press, into the "rise of national or mass media."[82] In fact "(m)uckrakers … took themselves to be representative of the people."[83]

The changing patriotic ideals between the partisan press era and that of the muckrakers are but one illustration of the ever-evolving nature of representation and newsworthiness. Representation, Stuart Hall suggests, is "the production of meaning through language,"[84] which is not "something fixed out there, in nature, but of our social, cultural and linguistic conventions."[85] Consequently "meaning can never be finally fixed" since the language, which it relies on, is never itself fixed. The rise of social rights movements such as Black Lives Matter may be regarded as part of a "changing cultural-political field of 'race,'" and is behind "the unfolding narratives of particular news stories [that] can also contribute to a wider cast of news actors, voices and viewpoints than may be anticipated."[86]

But, although Deuze states that "the notion of cultural or multicultural citizenship" aligns with the "social responsibilities of news media,"[87] Augie Fleras makes the argument that "a paradox is at play."[88] What passes for "newsworthiness reflects a patterned yet unintentional institutional bias"[89] in which "news is … a 'medium of the negative' in embracing abnormality, negativity, crime, or conflict." As a result, not only must the news' "commitment to notions of public good, common values, and social order" scramble for space with news items inclined towards negativity, but in the process "important events in society may be under-reported because they lack striking visuals or catchy hooks."[90] Not only are the stated ideals of multiculturalism undermined, but it would seem that the very notion of non-standard

representation, a reality in a complex social formation such as Quebec's, is destined to be pushed from visibility by the latest car wreck or minor political scandal.

There is little question that the presence of a wide representation of reporters helps uncover or better contextualize issues already on the radar of newsrooms. It also better equips them to counterbalance blind spots, which affects all reporters as a result of what Deuze calls the "impossibility of value-neutrality."[91] In the case of coverage featuring Black Americans, for example, David K. Shipler mentions that "the presence of African-Americans in positions of influence can produce good story ideas that whites may overlook."[92]

A lack of coverage geared towards minorities, or at least enriched by the presence of minority journalists, may also impact significant areas of the lives of the marginalized, such as issues pertaining to health and welfare. As an example, in a previous study I found one community-press reporter who broke "a story on Héma-Québec, the province's blood services agency, after it began accepting a larger pool of black female donors" to better address concerns about illnesses such as sickle cell disease. He explained that the lack of attention from mainstream media to this "public health issue" was distressing since "as more immigrants arrive, the public health system has to adapt" and "blacks consume media too."[93] The reporter was up against the same status quo resistance that *Globe and Mail* health reporter André Picard had addressed 11 years earlier, in 2004, when he asked: "What can be done to improve the care of people with sickle cell anemia, a disorder that strikes primarily blacks." Picard's question was part of an article entitled "We should admit that race matters in health care."[94]

Examples of a whiteness-centric press can be found across many different domains and throughout Canadian history, but notably in instances of crime reporting. Henry and Tator have found that "for at least a century, the [Canadian] media have played an important role in racializing crime."[95] Clayton J. Mosher argues that newly implemented narcotic and drug laws in 1908 became a propitious time to highlight "the alleged moral depravity of Chinese … and their involvement in gambling offences became a prominent theme in descriptions of Chinese lifestyle."[96] The "criminal proclivities" of black people were the source of "greater concern" given the supposition they were "violent and likely to be involved in more serious forms of crime than the Chinese."[97] These attitudes produced such headlines as "Chinese gambled — These 18 Chinks were Roped in Last Night by Police Who Raided a Chinese Laundry" (from the *Toronto Daily Star*, 29 March 1909);[98] "Negro Thieves Given Stiff Sentences" (from the *Windsor*

Evening Record, 20 October 1912);[99] or, "No More Chicken Dinners or Watermelon Feeds for Adolphus Lewis" (from the *Hamilton Spectator*, 26 August 1909).[100]

But debasing coverage of non-whites is not always overtly egregious. Over time, the lopsided presence of whiteness, both on the ground and executive suites, has helped foster the false idea that the absence of minority reporters is not a pressing problem. Fleras suggests this mentality stems from the fact that "mainstream media … embody (reflect, reinforce, and advance) the agendas (the interests, perspectives, and priorities) of the dominant sector."[101] Thus even if the lack of fairness is not "deliberate or malevolent" it does "draw attention to preferred aspects of reality by normalizing dominant ideas … while problematizing as irrelevant and inferior those who challenge or resist."[102]

Yasmin Jiwani and Mary L. Young examined 128 articles from *The Vancouver Sun* between 2001 and 2006 concerning the case of missing and murdered Aboriginal women in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside.[103] These women had been missing between 1978 and 2001 and Robert Pickton, who admitted to an undercover officer to having killed 49 of these women, was charged for six of these crimes. He was sentenced to life in prison in 2007. Jiwani and Young pointed out that much of the coverage focused on the case's gruesome details, including Pickton dispersing some of the victims' remains throughout his pig farm for the pigs to eat as a means of concealing evidence of his crimes.

The authors qualified this practice as a "displacement of emotion," in that much of the coverage focused on "constructing 'horror' from the possibility that a few people might have ingested tainted meat."[104] Their conclusion stems from evidence that the Vancouver media downplayed the deaths of "almost 100 women … many of [whom] … [were] victims of violent sexual homicide." Jiwani and Young argue that while the press condemned Pickton's actions it did so for misguided reasons. Much of the reporting focused on "Pickton as the singular, pathological, or deranged individual who violated the social and normative order."[105] Or it directed attention to "Aboriginality, geographic tropes related to the 'degeneracy' of the Downtown Eastside." In other words, Pickton was a 'bad apple' in a system that need not be questioned, whereas the victims were the by-products of their decision-making inability, one that could, when extended to its logical conclusion, apply to embattled First Nations peoples in general. Jiwani and Young's findings zero in on how a culturally limited press inhibits the creation of new information, in addition to progressive ideas. This poverty of perceptions leads

"news organizations [to] bend over backwards not to provoke" by performing "weirdly reticent and pre-emptively self-censored reportage."[106]

In Quebec, Rachad Antonius et al. looked at the 2007 coverage of Arabs and Muslims in the province's five major newspapers during the now famous Bouchard-Taylor Commission where questions regarding reasonable religious and cultural accommodations were debated.[107] The study found that though the columns and editorials of all five dailies were generally inclined to promote openness and fairness, the popular tabloid *Le Journal de Montreal* played a major role in presenting Islam and Muslims as a threat to Quebec culture, its secular society and gender equality.

*Le Journal'*s coverage was problematic for at least two reasons, the authors say. First, many of the stories hinged on stereotypes and half-truths. For instance, pictures depicting Muslim women in 46 stories published during the period under study featured religious garb, while only three did not. The author says the choice to heavily feature visible religious markers, and ignoring those women whom readers might not readily manage to identify as Muslims, accentuated an otherness that stoked antagonistic feelings about the supposed infringement of secular Quebec "values." Another type of coverage involved misleading headlines and spurious relationships between adjacent articles. One example of this practice was a survey on racism in Quebec (mandated, in part, by the paper) announced on the front page, which carried over to an ad, featuring a veiled woman, taking up most of the second page and followed by an article on the third page entitled "Airport – Border – 3, 246 weapon seizures in 3 years and a half."[108] The article mentioned, only in the body, that these numbers did not reflect reality. The seizures were not attributed to any particular group.

Second, thanks to its parent company, Québécor, which owns a multitude of media and communications properties in Quebec, the paper had an "agenda setting" role that was much more significant than its competitors; that is, it set the tone for what the Quebec press (owned principally by Québécor) would cover.[109] This included the coverage of events that did not warrant large-scale attention. One of those stories, which Antonius points out was mentioned many times during the commission, regarded a Muslim association renting a sugar shack and requesting the location and food be prepared according to their religious beliefs. The request and the owner's accommodation drew public criticism from Quebecers. While Antonius notes that *La Presse*, the other province's high-circulation paper, discussed the insignificance of the issue,

the story's omnipresence in Quebec's media landscape elevated the story into a province-wide controversy.

Antonius mentions that stories published in other newspapers also, (though less often than *Le Journal*), featured incongruities in their content. This appears to be the result of a clear-cut division of labour at the paper. While Antonius mentions that discrepancies between a caption and a picture did not happen often in *La Presse* articles during the period under study, a headline such as "Voile maudit," which could either mean "Damned veil" or "Damn veil," (the last interpretation not squaring with the corresponding article) accompanied the picture of a woman in a burka, thus imitating its rival's bombastic editorial style.[110]

As Thomas S. Matthews highlights, "opportunities for error are enormous" because of the "number of people who have a share in doing it [journalistic work]," which illustrates the importance of journalism's organizational nature.[111] Sylvia Stead, public editor at *The Globe and Mail*, alludes to this aspect when she explains that even when "we make a conscious effort [of "reflecting society today"] … we're always behind the times."[112] This is because "news organizations' hiring tends to change slower than how society changes" and "we can't just go out and hire completely new staff members to reflect the Canada of today."

This is why James Carey sees journalism as the result of "a process whereby a role is deintellectualized and technicalized."[113] In other words, one must first look at news organizations as businesses, "because the news media claim to sell the news."[114] The sociology of work, particularly literature regarding the importance of controlling work, is informative here. Perrow notes that, as part of an organization, an "individual must interact with others" and that this requirement is part of "the structure of the organization."[115] Thus "understand[ing] the nature of the material [yielded from this interaction] means to be able to control it better and achieve more predictability and efficiency in transformation."[116] This approach is applied by all sorts of institutions, such as "the prison or hospital." They adopt it "to remove variations" and so they can "provide boundaries for rationality where its constraints and contingencies are greatest."[117] In the news business, this means that "news teams seek, as far as possible, to 'tame the news environment' and 'routinize the unexpected.'"[118]

Such an organizational vision indicates that a "manager can call vigorously for inclusion … without embracing diversity."[119] This may mean welcoming "all kinds of people as long as they behave in ways consistent with existing practices" and thus "hav[ing] broad attribute

diversity with relatively little behavior diversity."[120] This explains why minority journalists, "especially the younger ones who had only recently been hired … express concern about speaking out too forcefully on issues of racism."[121] Speaking on the "assimilatory" nature of newsrooms, Herbert Gans adds that some among the decision-making elites, who do "side with blacks and women," do so favouring those "who move into the existing social order" over "separatists who want to alter it."[122] Often this is reflective of approaches that are "tokenistic in challenging traditional representations of minorities," and do not focus on the social factors that enable inequity to thrive.[123] Additionally, un-progressive behaviour is perpetuated from "cub reporters attempting to tailor their own performances to the patterns set by their role models, the veterans."[124]

Since decisions on matters of equitability are disconnected from the goals they champion on the surface this leads to "institutional inertia."[125] Sidestepping this inertia would mean overcoming a clash. On one end of this clash is "western media culture, [which] tends to emphasize a product-oriented, time-driven approach to doing business"[126] On the other end are the adaptability and readjustment required to carry out any successful efforts. This malleability requires that "managers must not only have a process," but they also "must return repeatedly to their process to determine how well they have done and what next steps would make sense."[127] This involves avoiding measures that are based on hollow principles such as "'treating others as you would like to be treated.'"[128]

In the news industry, "some feminist researchers have concluded that increases in the number of women journalists from the 1980s onward has not led to a different style of journalism."[129] This stems from the fact that the practices of these media organizations have not changed with respect to a "growing market orientation, with its emphasis on human interest and soft, emotional, or sensational news, that has paved the way for more women entering the field of journalism." The increased presence of minorities has similarly shown questionable results, leading at times to what David Pritchard and Sarah Stonbely call a "racial profiling in which journalists of color are disproportionately assigned to cover minority-oriented issues, while white reporters cover the white-dominated arenas of government and business."[130] These practices are doubly harmful. On one hand, they "reinforce white privilege and marginalize journalists who were intended to be the beneficiaries of diversity initiatives" and, on the other hand, they free

their white colleagues to fill other positions, such as "government and business beats [that] are widely considered the fastest tracks to management positions."[131]

This is why the complex nature of making newsrooms more equitable in their hiring and coverage is not merely suited for what Theodore L. Glasser refers to as "the folly of reducing diversity to physiographic criteria for admission and employment."[132] It also hinges on necessary tasks, however unquantifiable they may be, such as "how journalists … throughout the management chain can be given appropriate voice to define news outside the dominant culture frame."[133] This could then mean "build[ing] relationships with sources" despite "not producing high volumes of copy" while doing so.[134]

Staffing and content questions have also affected integration, an approach based on the idea that Radio-Canada is "no longer just a broadcaster with separate television, radio and Internet media lines" but an "integrated content company."[135] Chantal Francoeur, who has examined this question at R-C, does not focus on its implications on representation, but she does report on the difficulty that has come with the move toward integration.[136] As might be expected, many of these difficulties stem from obstacles revolving around organizational structure. One reporter in Francoeur's study mentioned the difficulty of modifying texts for various formats, given that a script approved by R-C's legal department cannot be modified, even for the sake of another show on the network. Radio-Canada's union has also voiced displeasure about the way stories are disseminated across the various network platforms. It stated that unifying content muffles the diversity of reporters' content, if it is not a mechanism of control over what is deemed newsworthy altogether ("Vous intégrez les opérations de cueillette radio-télé-Web [alors que] c'est la cueillette qui fait la diversité. Là, vous développez un modèle de contrôle").[137] Also, while executives tout that the younger generations are ready and willing to perform multi-platform journalism, some among those reporters, who often are not permanent employees, point out that they are torn between what is expected of them by management and, on the other end, what is expected by their union.

In an effort to come to terms with financial stresses brought about by technological changes, media organizations have turned to technology to track their audiences. For media outlets such as the CBC and Radio-Canada integration has been seen as a potential solution, or, at the very least, as a necessary and viable necessity for continued existence. In this vein, Marc Raboy argues that while "the news area" of CBC and R-C elicits "some pride of place because of

Newsworld and RDI," the organization had been plagued by many challenges even before the latest ones, beginning in the first decade of the 2000s.[138] For one, the corporation "no longer has the resources or the capacity to fulfill its obligations under the [Broadcasting] Act."[139] These challenges include a perception from dwindling audiences, much of it thirsting for American entertainment programming, that the CBC is "distant, refined, and elitist."[140] The corporation was also the victim of massive budget cuts applied to crown corporations during the 1990s. In ten years, these cuts amounted to about $400 million dollars. In 2014 alone, "CBC/Radio Canada is cutting $130 million from its budget … resulting in 657 job losses."[141]

The fact is that the "cash-starved" public broadcasting institution is further "handicapped" by more competitive private media organizations. It is also aggravated by "politicians [who] have preferred to keep the corporation within easy political reach."[142] This has meant anything from Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau considering shutting Radio-Canada down to facilitate a form of funding where the corporation "face[s] annual scrutiny by politicians."[143] In 2016, however, the cabinet of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau pledged $675 million for the CBC over five years, enabling the corporation to further develop its integration strategy more securely (or, at any rate, less frantically).[144]

The strategy around integration has emerged as other media organizations have had to confront a drop in their revenues in a relatively short time. A striking by-product of this financial and technological change in Canadian media has been the shift of *La Presse,* from a newspaper into the *La Presse+* tablet product. In 2015, publisher of *La Presse,* Guy Crevier, explained when he first announced the move that the tablet edition was enjoying a higher readership, 30 months after its creation, than its 131-year-old predecessor.[145] The choice was a financial one. The "tablet edition brings in 60 per cent of the company's revenue" and "cutting printing to one day a week will save *La Presse* $30-million annually."[146]

But the thirst for news audiences, and the solutions being enacted to attract them, do not necessarily ensure that minority news consumers will get more attention, even if they do comprise an ever greater share of the available audience. Part of this failure is not from a lack of interest on the part of visible-minority audiences. They should be regarded as prime candidates for recruitment to news applications such as *La Presse+* because they use the Internet for their political news at a higher rate than the rest of the population.[147] But Gwyneth Mellinger has reported that there tends to be even less incentive in this precarious environment for news

organizations to initiate inclusive practices. Keith Woods, commenting on the unsuccessful initiative of the American Society of News Editors to ensure newspapers reach parity with the general American population by the year 2000, mentions the following: "When the economy as a whole took the hit … diversity has suffered disproportionately because it was always so tenuous to begin with."[148] Another major impediment to reporters, and also to fostering more progressive reporting, is being "under pressure to work 'flexibly' as multi-skilled workers producing news for multimedia news outlets."[149] As Simon Cottle has discovered, faced with an increasing number of responsibilities and called to do the most with the least, "the multi-skilled journalists fashioning news … had neither the time nor the professional imagination to enhance ethnic minority community involvement through the use of these new technologies."[150]

The lack of academic examination of inequitable representation in Quebec newsrooms alone warrants studying how a major newsroom copes with the intense pressure media organizations face to improve their hiring and editorial practices. This, in addition to the pressure the journalism industry as a whole is under to evolve in the midst of financial duress, makes such research all the more necessary. Ethnographies are thus an apt tool to get an in-depth view of how these issues take place inside a major North-American newsroom. Ethnographies are not only about "providing an adequate description of the culture and practice of media production," but they also lend access to "the mindset of media producers," a central concern for this thesis and the subject of the following chapter.[151]

Chapter 3: Methodology

Though the decision to conduct ethnographic research in a working newsroom was not taken lightly, determining its efficiency for the present research was rather straightforward. Indeed, as Simon Cottle has observed, "news ethnographies … have generated some of the most penetrating … levels of analysis" when it comes to media production.[152] It befits the present study, which seeks to understand the conditions in which minority Quebecers are depicted and hired at Radio Canada (R-C), because of its basic objective: "tracking primarily decision-making processes regarding who decide[s] what [is] newsworthy, how, and why."[153]

In addition to the large-scale benefits that ethnographies offer a researcher there are more practical ones. Being in a newsroom alongside reporters enables researchers to present "the contingent nature of cultural production" in all its complexities.[154] This helps not only to construct a more nuanced depiction of the realities experienced on the ground, but also avoids becoming "so immersed within the guiding framework of a theoretical approach that the world can assume the form of an aesthetically pleasing, but empirically distorted, theoretical object."[155] Triangulation, another practical benefit Cottle raises, permits researchers to constantly refine and cross-reference their understanding of the observed group through information amassed from multiple instances of observations, conversations and note taking.[156]

Opting for an ethnography was not done without an awareness of its drawbacks. Cottle brings up the difficulty of covering "[i]nternal managerial pressures," since executives are less visible and reachable in general and may be recalcitrant about answering a researcher's questions.[157] I was generally able to sit down with executive-level individuals I approached, but access to the newsroom did hinge on a two-pronged admission process. One part of that process involved first convincing the newsroom director and the head of the French network's diversity department by presenting, in broad terms, how the research would unfold. This step involved some flexibility and blind trust on both sides.

During my initial approach I offered to submit the thesis, specifically my findings, to both individuals before its defence. I did not offer the option to remove any statements that they would deem unsettling. Instead I would add, in the original text, whatever they thought needed to be offered as clarification or counter-point. This was done as a mark of good faith, but also to address the power relations, which, in field work in general, can be "characterized as highly

differentiated and asymmetric" despite also being a partnership.[158] Indeed, while the station's managers held much power, as keepers of the information I sought to access, I would also become empowered once I got to freely roam inside the station's walls. Offering the network an opportunity to read and respond to my final draft still showed "respect [for] the theoretical foundations, methodological discipline, and ethical boundaries of qualitative scholarship," but it also "offer[ed] a less hierarchical and more reciprocal, transparent" way of operating.[159] This form of "mutual engagement" seen, for example, in the research relationship between Native American communities and academics looking to study them, is one Raymond D. Fogelson sees as an adaptive necessity to perform credible ethnographies.[160] Indeed, "there is no correct or optimal relationship" when it comes to qualitative research and this was a condition I was more than willing to adapt to and accept.[161]

Unlike in the case of Nikki Usher and her *New York Times* ethnography, we agreed to proceed without the input of lawyers.[162] At any rate, the agreement was initially verbal. I gained this access, I assumed, thanks to my year long acquaintance with diversity department director Luc Simard and because of the station (and the network's) openly stated desire to foster more equitable practices. Luck also played a part.

After Concordia University's ethics department required R-C to textually consent to the study, Simard wrote a letter addressed to Concordia University and provided information the department requested, but also two elements the directors and I had not previously discussed during our meeting. One was about management ensuring, when the thesis became available, that "Mr. Delva would keep confidential any elements irrelevant to his research." The other regarded discussing "the terms and conditions of, should it be the case, the study's public communication."[163] The former seemed fair as this project was not looking to gratuitously "expose their [participants'] 'dirty laundry' in public" anyway.[164] I was not sure, however, if "public communication" included the university's research library on the web or academic articles. I also wanted to know under what circumstances, if any, these two outlets would be barred. I also was not aware of what, in specific terms, constituted information "irrelevant to his research." I decided to not inquire about these items, begrudgingly, to avoid any self-censoring and the possibility of broaching questions that would, or could, not be answered definitively before the actual thesis was completed. This is why going through with this study under such

circumstances required some blind faith on my part, but admittedly also left me with some concerns.

The second prong in this admission process was R-C's Montreal newsroom itself. Heading into my field research, I knew that negotiating access would not hinge solely on the blessing of the executives. Indeed, as Altheide remarks in his own newsroom field study, "gaining access to a setting does not guarantee meaningful access to that setting."[165] In the case of this study, I thought it logical (if not elementary) to introduce myself to the members of each show I sat in on, despite my arrival being announced in an email message to the newsroom the week before. Early on, the diversity department director advised me to approach the editor-in-chief of the shows I wished to shadow. A friend, who worked at the network, thought this strategy was counterproductive and suggested I instead speak to those who were not considered executives by R-C staff. He inferred that being associated with those who did not have the ear of executives would frame my presence in a more positive light to other members of the show that I would shadow and observe. These people included assignment editors and writers. Such a dynamic illustrated how, indeed, intra-office oppositions can affect the quality of one's data.[166]

Despite my best efforts, however, I was not always able to avoid the appearance that I was in league with the higher-ups. Though not surprising, the real-life pushback was both fascinating and mildly uncomfortable, and required real-life reflexes that academic accounts do not fully prepare one to deal with. I encountered discomfort toward me on the part of others within the first hour of my presence. Simard, who offered to accommodate me and introduce me to some of the newsroom's players, mentioned an interesting tidbit over coffee (at R-C's cafeteria) before we headed to the newsroom, internally called Centre de l'information (CDI). As the story went, the week prior to my arrival, some of his colleagues (he did not mention their specific roles) were disquieted at the news of my impending presence, as the French network was in the midst of a union reshuffle. He said that they found the timing of my arrival puzzling and toyed with the idea that I was not really at the station to conduct a study, but that I could, in fact, be a spy sent on behalf of the organization's executives. Simard said he reassured them that this was not the case.

It would be mere minutes after this conversation that my presence at the station would be challenged, while I was physically in the room, for the first time. During a round of introductions, while Simard introduced me to employees in and around the newsroom, one

worker's immediate reaction after learning about the reason for my presence was to question where the study would be published. The employee did not let up even after Simard and I explained that the study was a serious academic endeavour. This did not reassure him and he went on a brief tirade about not wanting to see the results of the study covered and mishandled by competitors. He eventually let go of his worries (at least visibly) and was cordial whenever we crossed paths throughout my stay. This individual was not a news worker but an executive.

Simard introduced me to members of the station's morning meeting, which sets the tone when it comes to determining the important stories of the day (including at RDI, R-C's all-news network). At this point he said jokingly to those on hand that I was not a spy for the government, but merely a student writing a thesis. When I explained the reason for my presence to a news worker later on, I referenced this joke. A number of times during my sojourn the news worker jokingly hid his work whenever I walked by, on the pretext that I was a spy. Another, whom I did not relate this fact to, joked approximately two weeks after my arrival that I was a spy sent by one of the city's newspapers (Altheide experienced similar treatment, being asked "several times" by newsroom members during his stay about his "big 'exposé'").[167] I could sense behind the recurrence of this gag a genuine discomfort by some at a foreign presence, an "outsider," in the newsroom.

Another news worker, whom I had spoken to a few times during my stay and had friendly conversations with throughout, mentioned in one of our later conversations that when he first learned I was writing a thesis on news gathering, he found it dubious since he could not fathom what required being studied in a newsroom. He and I sometimes had joked around, but, though I did not ask, his comment on dubiousness did not seem to be an attempt at comedy. This puzzlement at academic work by news workers is nothing new. David Hograth in his own field study of CBC Newsworld, in the 1990s, was similarly told by one journalist that, "I really don't see why news production here would be of interest to anybody."[168]

But this floating sense of discomfort went from passive to active and led someone from the CDI one day to question my sincerity altogether. A few weeks after having made the acquaintance of the individual, he asked how my "internship" was going (I was often mistaken for an intern, as the newsroom is the only department at R-C to accept interns). I took a second to consider whether I should correct him. After I answered (and corrected him) he matter-of-factly described the term I had used as deceitful (I did not document in my notes the term I used, which

is why I am not mentioning it here). I corrected him and pointed out, firmly but politely, the fact that I was, indeed, a student working on a thesis. We eventually transitioned into a conversation about his first day on the job.

To be clear, my interactions with the staff were friendly on the whole. Though it was hard to sometimes pin down members of the newsroom for occasional questions during the day, some insisted on setting some time aside to talk instead of rushing through their answers. One news worker I shadowed offered me some of his lunch or checked in with me as I was shadowing him, once his workload lightened. Another, before closing the meeting I was sitting in on, asked if I had any questions. Some were fascinated by my inquiries regarding their work and answered my questions at length.

Going in, I knew I would have to ingratiate myself to the people I observed, who owed me and this study nothing, yet helped me to carry out this project. Before the study began, I had contacted Chantal Francoeur a former Radio-Canada journalist who conducted her own study on the organization for her Ph.D. dissertation. It is critical to mention here that Francoeur did not know the full breadth of my study until I revealed it once my field work was completed, and that she has allowed me to mention the fact we have briefly talked over email. Given her research (and professional) experience at the network, I asked how to approach R-C staff since she mentions in her own scholarship how difficult it was to find time to sit down with participants.[169] An excellent piece of advice she provided was to preface my questions with a show of politeness such "Is this a good time?" Although I still felt like a thorn in the side of the staff, I appreciated how this sentence openly communicated this unease to those I was about to "bother."

Behaviour on my end such as "self-disclosure, running errands, sharing a meal" was, in addition to being part of a basic interpersonal connection with staff, also about "[a]chieving heightened empathy … likely to increase participation and the richness of the research data."[170] For instance, I helped news workers with carrying equipment or filming a report (carrying a tripod, I later learned, is a gesture camera-people notice and appreciate). Another time, a reporter, whom I became friendly with during my stay, asked me to take notes for him at a press conference while he was on the phone with someone from the office.

While most news workers became comfortable around me after a few days, it remained clear in the mind of R-C workers that I was an outlier. During an editorial meeting, a white man I was sitting next to made a joke to a black co-worker. The joke's punchline was a wordplay that

regarded blacks and lawyers. While glancing at the amused room, the white news worker turned to his immediate left and gasped, surprised, when he discovered I was sitting next to him. The members of the meeting laughed all the louder at his surprise. The black co-worker, whom I had had friendly conversations with, asked me, jokingly, if I wanted to join efforts to rough him up. Before the white worker's joke, I had already been scanning a rundown sheet where potential stories for the line-up were listed. I consciously decided to continue doing so, until the black worker's response, in an effort to show I had not been paying attention. I did this because I generally made it a point to not participate in conversations involving race: I wanted to avoid influencing my relationships in the newsroom and the study's data as a whole more than I already was by merely being present. I knew I had convinced the room that I had not heard the exchange after someone remarked that I seemed to not have heard what was going on.

Indeed, reactivity, "the field worker's effects on the particular setting studied" was always top of mind.[171] This was expected since "[p]articipant observation, perhaps more than most other methods is destined to be reflexive."[172] In fact, Gary Fine goes so far as to argue that a researcher's interpretation of events, the presence of the researcher and any other "limits of the arts [this is, field work] are part of the data."[173]

The anecdotes above, in addition to adding some humanity to my newsroom experience (but also some context about the environment that contributed to the findings), are meant to illustrate why some level of deception was necessary to conduct this study. Racial and ethnic reasons aside, field workers have a history of wrestling with the double-edge sword of deception, a point Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban explains when stating that "participant observation … does not usually involve deception, but neither is it a method that employs full disclosure."[174] Some deception, to mitigate the effect of my presence was necessary. It was also necessary to recognize that a "relationship changes according to the researcher's personality, world view, ethnic and social background."[175] While my obvious presence as a researcher was bound to affect normal behaviour at the CDI in some capacity, it was my estimation that revealing anything beyond the staid details I provided to CDI workers about the study, or participating in conversations similar to the one I illustrated in the previous paragraph, would make my presence more than simply being "part of the data." It would, in fact, place it at the forefront of the data I collected.

I performed this study under what Fine calls a "Shallow Cover," which involves an "ethnographer announc[ing] the research intent" while being "vague about the goals."[176] In the

case of this study, deception meant telling R-C workers that the study intended to present the nuts and bolts about how a news broadcast is produced. This assertion was of course true, but did not encompass the full goal of the study.

At least two R-C workers pushed back on this explanation, albeit casually. Both pressed for more information about the study. One of them, who seemed to be cognizant of the process involved in graduate work, asked about the specific problem the thesis was tackling. Having to think quickly, I answered that very little was known about what news production involves in an actual Canadian newsroom and that this study was an attempt to fill this void in the scholarship. A third worker approached me early on in the study and brought up the topic of diversity head on, asking me what I thought of the cultural makeup of the newsroom. The individual knew about me from a piece I had published online a few weeks before the study commenced.[177] After first rambling over my answer I provided the response I had given other people about the public lack of knowledge regarding news production. Though I was prepared for someone to bring up the topic of my article I was still caught off guard by each conversation, having to wade through and experience everything that comes with being part of a new environment.

The study was made up of two main elements: a content overview of the station's six o'clock broadcast, *Le Telejournal 18h* (Le TJ 18h), before and during the period encompassing the field work, and the actual ethnography. A content overview was chosen as opposed to a full-blown content analysis because of the time constraints to complete the thesis and also because honing in on the goings-on of the newsroom was the main focus of the study. Examining in broad strokes the work of this newsroom (by keeping track of the number of stories that included visible minorities or stories that broached issues affecting visible minorities), though not as in-depth as a content analysis, still gives full meaning to the ethnographic data. A baseline study, taking place during the four weeks prior to the ethnography, was meant to be "a point of reference for comparison of research findings" related to telecasts tracked during the ethnography.[178]

Despite the popular and institutionalized nature of the term "visible minorities," as Tolley mentions, "[d]etermining who is a visible minority and who is not is admittedly fraught terrain."[179] This difficulty was overcome by establishing the visible minority status of onscreen Quebecers "on the surface evidence alone, because this is all a viewer has to work with."[180] Even this approach sometimes posed a problem. Arthur Porter, a hospital executive whose name had appeared in the news off and on for years over fraud accusations, was not visually represented in

one news report about his ongoing legal saga. While I and other viewers may have known he was black, he was not a celebrity and it was plausible to conclude that many viewers may not have known he was black, which is why I made the decision not to list him as a visible minority Montrealer when referring to this particular report.

There were also ambiguous instances of visible minority presence, such as that of a murderer at a supermarket. I included the man when his picture was not shown in a piece because he had been talked about and featured enough times for the audience to know who he was (the story had been covered multiple times that week, after the man had been seen fleeing the murder scene). If several minorities were shown in a piece, such as reports covering taxi drivers (an industry that includes many visible minority workers), I did not count individuals who did not speak. I did not count individuals more than once if they appeared multiple times on a telecast, as province's minister for the economy, Dominique Anglade, sometimes did.

Even though I posited that national stories and even international ones could sometimes include visible minority Montrealers, such as experts or bystanders, only local stories were counted because of the study's Montreal focus. Specific pieces that reporters worked on during my sojourn were analyzed to provide a snapshot of not only the type of stories involving minorities featured on the show, but how these stories were presented to viewers once on the air, as well as the steps that led to them making it (or not) on the air. Although this parallel "input-throughput-output analysis," a "type of study [that] checks for information input into the news system (or parts of it), looks what happens in this system, and compares it with the output," this thesis does not make the claim of having reproduced this method for all of the stories discussed.[181] As Thorsten Quandt mentions, it is a "complicated task" as "it can be extremely difficult to follow a news item that is protected by various decision and selection processes."[182]

Indeed, the fact that I was present in the newsroom did not mean that I always had a sure fire method to find out about *all* of the stories being covered that day. After a few weeks, however, once I understood the functioning of the newsroom, I consulted an assignment editor to get an idea of who might be working on what and tried to track the story from there. I also caught wind of stories by discussing matters with reporters around the newsroom. This is why, it was impossible to perform input-throughput-output analysis in the classical sense of the approach, but I was able to follow some stories from the moment they made their entry into the newsroom consciousness until the time they made it on the air.

The newscasts I wanted to monitor changed over the course of the study. I originally wanted to shadow one of the station's traditional newscasts, such as Le TJ 18h, and a magazine-style show, in order to be exposed to as many news teams as reasonably possible within a month. But early on, within the first week actually, I got to speak to a high-ranking member of the magazine-style show. I used this conversation to ask the individual about the "mission" of the show (so I could understand the criteria used to select stories). Going into my sojourn at the station, I thought the show covered stories that required depth and time, seeing the show only ran about 3-4 stories in an hour. This, I believed, would square with stories pertinent for this research, regarding visible minority issues, or stories adjacent to them (e.g., gender rights, which affect visible minority individuals of all genders). But in speaking with the individual I learned the team selected only big stories, mainly those that revolved around financial matters or death (I was told by the news worker), and which had occurred within the last 24 hours. The problem with this new information was that not all of the stories from the baseline period were "big" stories that I would have considered socially relevant: one example was the story concerning the death of a playwright, whose popularity had peaked in the 80s. The story seemed important in the eyes of my contact, but I had a difficult time pinpointing why it was worth an entire segment.

The difficulties of shadowing the magazine-style show dawned on me after realizing the challenges involved in basing a major part of this study on arguing over the merits of choosing one type of story over another, especially given the difficulty involved in finding potentially important stories to include in the study in the first place. Studying a show that included a wider breadth of stories seemed more practical, which the six o'clock newscast did.

The length of time I decided to spend at Le TJ 18h also changed along the way. I originally wanted to spend a month there, estimating it would be the most manageable timespan for this thesis and that it would deliver enough data. But after what had been five weeks, between April 11 and May 15, 2016, it became clear upon reading my notes that I needed more time. An average day for me revolved around three activities: going to the editorial meetings (there were generally two in a day), watching the day's previous newscast (on the station's website or the station's archives) in between meetings, and occasionally shadowing reporters. At first I jotted down moments that readily struck me as important as well as general details about the processes I had witnessed. I also kept my ears open to what was happening in the newsroom by following the main email group that addressed all news personnel. In addition, I also relied on gossip at

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least from those who were willing to speak to me openly. This is how, for instance, I managed to catch wind of a station-wide meeting where the topic of diversity reared its head randomly. I was at the network to understand how R-C news people worked, and this involved soaking up as much as I could about life at the organization and its culture.

At first, I came to the network seven days a week and stayed for approximately five hours a day, from about ten in the morning until three in the afternoon. During my second stay, (between June 6 and June 19, 2016), I was able to stay until the show aired, at six o'clock, and also sometimes caught the show from the production room, where last minute changes were sometimes made during the live broadcast.

I returned a second time because I realized that for all of the data I had collected, little of it contained the kind of information I could use to deliver a full account of the journalistic process, or that could even answer my own questions. Of course I had documented relevant information related to how the CDI operated and I had taken notes on a few stories that caught my attention. But one of the elements that my notes did not contain were the reasons behind what interested Le TJ 18h desk in the first place and the more intricate details of what made the show stand on its own two feet from morning to airtime.

Part of this shortcoming was due to logistics. As Francoeur had mentioned in her own work, the seating capacity in the newsroom is quite limited.[183] Indeed, there were no seats, and very little space, available next to the team, which is why I sat far away from its members and met them only during the two daily editorial meetings. I initially thought going to the meetings – where decisions were made concerning what interested the team based on suggestions from the assignment editor and desk editor – and following reporters would be enough. As I learned, many of the day's decisions, especially the final ones, were taken much later in the day, once reporters had gathered enough information for the show producers to make a decision. The entire line-up could also change if a major story broke.

Another reason I needed to return to the newsroom is that I had not thoroughly appreciated the notion that "I could not observe what was relevant to the news process until a certain amount of understanding had occurred."[184] Thus while having eyes and ears on the ground is certainly part of the *sine qua non* and benefits of field research, so is understanding the newsroom's ins-and-outs, at least to a reasonably solid extent, before any conclusive observation and relevant questioning can begin to take place. This was tough to realize in the heat of the moment. As I

mentioned earlier, there is much to take in when one experiences a new environment, more than initially meets the eye. Reading my notes and asking myself questions about what I understood served as a barometer of the strides I had made since first entering the newsroom. I learned a valuable lesson in that "entree, observation and understanding, and data collection and recording … are not distinct research endeavors."[185]

Specifically, I did not appreciate, despite actually witnessing the interactions and dynamics at work, how much shorthand was exchanged between the news workers (this shortcoming was apparent to me in some of the interview questions I asked, when I realized I had misunderstood certain conversations). More importantly, I did not appreciate how I needed to witness the entire chain of news gathering in order to to understand the newsroom and how the show worked. Because of this I decided, during my second stint, to sit down next to Le TJ 18h team. I sat next to the desk editor or at the host's seat (which was also next to desk editor) while he was not around. Then, usually about two hours before the host went on the air, I would move to a small table at the end of the team's long desk (in essence, wrestling for space with a printer … a battle it often won!) or next to the show's news writers, depending how much traffic there was in the cramped area. Finding space was never a problem on weekends. I knew I was beginning to understand the show's intricacies and the way the team worked once I could guess whom the desk editor was speaking to on the phone, without asking for the information.

Despite having interviewed the host of the weeknight edition's newscast, Patrice Roy, for close to two hours at the end of my first stay, my return was not readily granted. Before he could offer me an answer about my return, which I had asked for by email the evening before, he replied that we ought to meet so that I could clarify more specifically what I was looking to gain this second time around. Our discussion lasted approximately ten minutes. Roy, at that point, did not understand why I had still not found what I was looking for. This did not seem clear to him especially in light of the wide scope of my questions to him a few weeks before. I explained the holes in my notes and the need to know more about the actual chain that makes up the news making process.

Though I was not sure how the conversation would go with him that morning, I had thought of a moment during my initial stay that could illustrate vividly the necessity to understand as much about the newsroom as possible. I relayed an anecdote about the last-minute cancellation of two female lawyers for a broadcast some weeks previously, subjects who he had wanted to be

part of the newscast's panel discussion. The invitation had been extended, the host told me, because of the lawyers' expertise and also to ensure that a female viewpoint was represented on the panel. In making a case for my resumed presence I explained that this absence, in the eyes of viewers not privy to the show's behind-the-scenes efforts regarding equitable representation, may have come off as though the show had not sought any female guests for that particular segment (for a story on divorce). I argued that had viewers known, as I did, that the show had gone through several back and forth conversations with the potential guests, but was still ultimately unable to book them, the audience or observers such as myself would have a different set of circumstances to evaluate the work of the newsroom that evening. This argument convinced Roy to let me in once more.

Regarding my decision to not mention the full spectrum of my study the second time around, I played it by ear. After all, I had already begun interviews, not thinking I would be returning. The "cat was out of the bag," so to speak, at least for those I interviewed. I asked Roy, after our 10-minute conversation, if he had talked about the study's disclosure to his team and he answered he could not remember how many people he said this to or if he had mentioned it at all. I decided that if a news worker confronted me with the details of the study, I would explain the nature of the research, as I did to those who accepted being interviewed.

Given the unpredictable nature of the data and people I spoke with, unstructured questions were used for interviews. Some basic questions guided the first set of interviews, but, especially during the second observation period, where the newsroom's inner-workings became easier to understand, "more structured or strategic questioning" was "used towards the end of the fieldwork."[186]

In total, eleven people accepted to be interviewed, though I approached about a half-dozen more. In this last group, most initially accepted my invitation to answer questions, but either did not pick up after I tried contacting them at least three times via telephone, or they never got back to me about a specific time to talk.

I proposed the phone as a means of communicating because most of the people I approached did not have an office where they could speak freely. I posited that speaking over the phone would offer them greater privacy to speak their minds. Roy and Simard, the diversity department director, were the only participants I interviewed face-to-face in their offices. I never revealed the entire nature of the study while asking potential participants to answer questions, only after

they accepted, to avoid people refusing to speak to me on the basis of entertaining worst-case scenarios even before learning about the full extent of the study. Consent was recorded verbally after I read a prepared script where I explained the study in its entirety. I thus assumed that, whatever grounds they had to decline to answer questions, their refusal was not linked to the nature of the study itself.

Some of the reactions, upon discovering the entire nature of the study, ranged from casual acceptance to surprise and discomfort. No one refused to answer my questions after finding out the true nature of my study, but one news worker, who decided to answer anonymously, revealed being "disappointed" by the revelation and mentioned upfront not having much to say about the topic of visible minority representation. This person still agreed to answer the questions. Another insisted on finding out if management was aware of the full extent of the study.

Those who decided to speak with me were generous with their time. Some spoke for about an hour, one news worker spoke with me for three hours, at which point she added, nicely, that we could schedule more time if I had any other questions. I could sense, when we spoke next to schedule another set of questions, that she wanted me to make sure the conversation would be much shorter.

As my experience in Le TJ 18h newsroom made abundantly clear, "field work prototypically involves a total human and personal experience."[187] One way this aspect revealed itself was through the empathy I felt for participants and the way I consequently treated the topic of anonymity. It was an issue I wrestled with during the course of the study and not for the mere sake of its bureaucratic nature, but from an interpersonal standpoint. I approached potential interview participants by email or after taking them aside, away from prying ears. It was important that, if word of the full mandate of the study was to be discussed in the newsroom after my departure, those who did answer anonymously not be suspected of having participated. In this vein, I construed anonymity as not just a shield from the general public who would read this study, but also from the colleagues of the participants. Of course, this would not prevent some of these individuals from having a change of heart and deciding, after being interviewed, to speak openly about their participation. It was important, however, as Karnieli-Miller, Orit, Roni Strier, and Liat Pessach recommend, to show "sincere concern not to hurt the participants."[188]

I initially recorded the data in a notebook and transcribed the notes on my computer. Although I tried for a few weeks during my first sojourn at the station to take notes on my smart

phone (equipped with handwriting recognition technology and an application that allowed me to save notes on my phone and laptop simultaneously, both password-protected), I reverted to taking notes on paper during my second stay, especially once I understood what I was looking for and had much to write down. My documentation throughout the study narrowed down a large collection of events and thoughts. As a result I ended up with larger details on such matters as newsroom processes, salient points discussed during meetings, and answers to questions I posed, but my notes were also made up of informal information such as details of conversations I overheard.

The next chapter will present the study's findings through the three areas tied to Le TJ 18h: Radio-Canada's Montreal newsroom, the show's content, and interviews with various players within the organization.

Chapter 4: The Newsroom, Journalists, and Diversity

This chapter revolves around three main areas of investigation. The first is the news operation itself, which covers the Centre de l'information (CDI); the newsroom Le TJ 18h is produced in. The second hones in on the program, Le TJ 18h, its players, how it is produced, and journalistic production relevant to this thesis. The third and last section zeroes on diversity within the walls of Radio-Canada (R-C) from the vantage point of the editorial staff and the administrators. Simply put, it looks at the challenges the network has faced with respect to organizational structure and resources, and how it has responded to issues of diversity and representation.

At the time it was studied, Le TJ 18h team worked in a 31,647 square foot newsroom, set on two levels, roughly double the size of an NHL hockey rink.[189] The upper floor, where the automated production control room was located, made up a negligible part of the premises. The oval-shaped newsroom below, where most of R-C's news staff worked (and where the all-news network, RDI, was also located), was roughly sectioned off according to news workers' media (radio, web-based and TV) functions or the show they belonged to.

The most recent and thorough official headcount dates from Chantal Francoeur's 2012 study, showing that the Montreal news department included 559 of the 765 R-C reporters working across the country.[190] This category was made up of news and current affairs reporters, in the traditional sense of the term, but also of others involved in the editorial process such as producers (an umbrella term for several editorial tasks) or writers (who craft texts that anchors read on a teleprompter). From the 765 workers, 480 held permanent positions and 285 held casual ones. More of these permanent workers were men while more women were casual workers. On average, permanent reporters tended to be older (49 years old) than casual ones (38 years old). As previously mentioned (Chapter 1), roughly 81 percent of R-C's Montreal news workers filled out a form about general questions involving their identity. From that number, 5.9 percent self-identified as minorities. At its largest, Le TJ 18h's staff included approximately 60 workers. From that number, half were part of the technical team (cameramen and video editors). The remainder was made up the editorial staff, half of which were reporters with the rest being other editorial workers such as desk editors and assignment editors.

On most weekdays, the newsroom bustled with a buzzing hum while weekends tended to be quieter since there were fewer newscasts on RDI. Some said weekend staffing, already pared down, was more negatively impacted by recent cutbacks when compared to the Monday-to-Friday news operations. Weekend staffing at Le TJ 18h had been reduced by one reporter and one producer (there had been two of each prior to the cuts). Unlike the weeknight version of Le TJ 18h, whose producer worked on both shows the anchor hosted, the weekend producer was involved on Le TJ 18h as well as RDI newscasts. She or he served as an assistant to the assignment editor and helped reporters with research for their stories.

The reduced staff shrunk Le TJ 18h's room for error. Chantal Albert, desk editor for the weekend edition of Le TJ 18h, said weeknight shows had so much staff "they don't know what to do with it … When we send out a reporter for a piece, we have to be sure the reporter will come back with a story, because we can't come up empty. If the reporter comes back and there's no story there, we're out of two minutes in the newscast."[191] Albert put the situation simply: "Those who work during the week ride in a Cadillac. We're in a Toyota."[192]

The weekend crew devised ways to offset reduced resources. Reporters who worked only during the week were asked to produce an extra piece for the weekend team. Another strategy was to have a reporter work four days, two of them during the week. This arrangement facilitated reaching official sources who were unavailable on weekends.

But, for some, making do and being efficient were not necessarily synonymous. One member of the CDI thought that even though the cuts forced the workers to become more versatile, they also caused reporters to do work where their expertise was not put to the best use. Moreover, Le TJ 18h host, Patrice Roy, said reporters lacked stability. This was a by-product of working in an environment where "you could be doing an arts and entertainment story one day, then a finance one the next."[193] Roy said these conditions made it harder to "develop a method" when working.[194]

Indeed, not working on a specific beat was a recurring gripe for R-C reporters, both in conversations I overheard and was directly involved in. The move of turning reporters into generalists was done as a cost-cutting measure since specialized reporters earned more. As a result, some journalists did not feel comfortable with certain topics assigned to them because of their lack of exposure to the issue in question. Members of the staff who were not reporters also lost the benefit from being assigned to a specific beat. For example, a cameraperson working

regularly at the courthouse meant that she or he was familiar with the protocols for spotting and recording principal subjects from important court cases. Reassignment to general reporting, it was thought, wasted that expertise.

Another item that rankled newsroom reporters in times of belt tightening was "Chartbeat," an initiative from the web division. The service relays, according to its website, "what people are reading on a second-by-second, pixel-by-pixel basis on each site, article and page."[195] These results were shown on screens installed throughout the CDI. The goal was to "understand reader engagement – the amount of time users spend actually reading content" and to "hel[p] you value your best stories and ensure they thrive across platforms and devices."[196]

Chartbeat's detractors inside the newsroom felt web readership should not dictate what reporters cover. Nor should it supplant journalistic judgment and be used to determine important stories. The reason for this, one news worker explained, was that news people generally could spot relevant news items ahead of audiences. Chantal Albert, Le TJ 18h's weekend desk editor, was particularly bothered by the idea of web readership being used as a legitimate performance benchmark: "It's often the stupidest stories that become popular on the web and get a lot of 'Likes.' … Should we really use this to figure out what we're going to lead our newscast with?"[197] Albert thought popular stories on social media stories should, at best, be used as feel-good items at the end of a newscast.

Not everybody in the newsroom thought ill of being a generalist, or of the budget cuts. One reporter said he enjoyed not having a beat, as beat reporters tended to bring work home more often, which was generally not the case for generalists. Another worker thought the cuts did not lead to as many firings as some claimed and that the changes they did create were not readily discernible to R-C audiences. A member of Le TJ 18h weeknights team mentioned that, save for the technical staff, the show had been largely unaffected by the cuts, because of the show's standing.

During the week, Le TJ 18h covered the city with a pool of about seven reporters. Most who appeared on the show were dedicated to a beat, such as public affairs, city hall or the courthouse. The weekend edition was composed of about three reporters for each day, as well as another reporter who stayed in the newsroom and crafted reports from wire stories. Reporters

were at the station for approximately ten hours, though a few mentioned that regular overtime was par for the course.

Working overtime was sometimes necessary for work that could not be completed within the standard time. This may have been the case when rewriting a story for the web. Not every story published on television was reproduced on the station's website, but some journalists preferred keeping ownership of a story by personally reworking it for the network's web audience. Doing this prevented discrepancies from creeping into the story. That said, working for several platforms was not required of all reporters. While those with more seniority did not have to provide stories for the web, newer hires were called upon to work for radio, television and the website.

Reporters worked alongside assignment editors whose job was to suggest news items to "clients," the term used for programs like Le TJ 18h. Assignment editors were tasked with dispatching the necessary resources for a story that a show wished to air. Assignment editors consumed much news, on social media, press wires and the web – whether at home or at the office – as part of their responsibility to keep on top of events that might have an impact on local audiences. A news idea might arise from a newspaper article, but also from a reporter's pitch, a press release, or from a piece the network had done in the past that was due to be updated.

The assignment editor's position was described by a few people as one of the more stressful ones in the newsroom. A senior executive listed to me a list of traits assignment editors were called upon to possess, such as good news reflexes and being detail oriented. They were also expected to be good at managing people, possess specific skills for assessing the relevance of stories and the ability to offer different potential angles to cover a story. Additionally, the job required an extensive knowledge of the news-making chain, including technical factors. One CDI worker explained that the equipment required to broadcast footage live from a scene, for example, might take considerable lead time to set up, so scheduling a reporter to a location without technical knowledge could negatively impact coverage. Because of the various expectations placed on assignment editors, some described the position as a thankless job. Assignment editors were perceived to be the first step of the newsgathering process and everybody, from bosses to desk editors, would end up complaining if a news story was overlooked.

Part of what also made the assignment editor's job thankless was the relationship between the assignment editors and the host or desk editor. Roy, Le TJ 18h host on weeknights, described assignment staff and the shows they worked with, or *for* to a large extent, as "the two different sides of a coin."[198] And this "yin-yang" relationship, which encompassed these "two forces," was to be expected.[199] In one corner, assignment editors and reporters pushed to have their story ideas aired; in the other, shows opted for stories or rejected them irrespective of how much work had been put into them.

One might wonder why an assignment editor would fret about a story (or pitch) being rejected or accepted by the client shows. After all, assignment editors fulfilling the requests of clients such as Le TJ 18h appeared to have a clear, unidirectional mandate. However, this generally turned out to be a matter of appearance. Luc Simard, the network's diversity director, described a sense of "personal commitment" to explain this tug of war: "Radio-Canada's organizational culture entails that each feel responsible for their work" and "be masters of their own domain." Workers did not just perform a job, but were "devoted" and felt it their personal duty to "contribute to Radio-Canada's growth."[200]

This helps to explain why the exchanges between the assignment staff and shows they served were based on agreement most of the time, but also why there were instances where the two would engage in a back-and-forth disagreement about whether a story was fit to air. This tug of war usually ended when, for example, an assignment editor begrudgingly agreed to put resources to a story by putting the onus for the decision onto the host. On one occasion a desk editor voiced displeasure about a particular story, which ended up on Le TJ 18h after the arts and assignment editor argued for its relevance even though the story had been covered for several days without any major new developments. This dynamic was certainly illustrative of what Tuchman refers to as the "ongoing compromise and negotiation to the assessment of newsworthiness."[201]

Interestingly, Roy called himself "the gatekeeper" when he thought it necessary to reject a story for Le TJ 18h.[202] Roy said this was the case during my sojourn because the show had not been assigned an editor-in-chief since the last one's dismissal and he had assumed some of the responsibilities for the position. However, a senior member on the technical team also used the term "gatekeeper" to describe assignment editors, albeit from a different perspective, because

they protected reporters from the numerous requests from various shows that could easily overwhelm reporters on assignment.

Desk editors (similar to line-up editors in other news organizations) were also significant in Le TJ 18h's production chain. They were responsible for crafting the content of the show by monitoring the pieces their show wished to air from the moment the piece was agreed upon until air time. In addition to being in charge of the order of the stories that went to air, they also oversaw the work of the writers, who produced the texts anchors read on a teleprompter (sometimes the desk editor conferred with the anchor before air time, other times the anchor checked their own texts). Desk editors attended editorial meetings – generally, there was one in the morning and another in the early afternoon – to either suggest stories or give members of the show's team an idea of how the stories being developed were progressing. In between these meetings, much of their work required being in tune with what was being broadcast on other sources. One desk editor I shadowed watched two newscasts at a time, the network's in the studio and a competitor's on a small television set. They were also in constant communication with the assignment editor (or with the reporters directly) throughout the day. It was the desk editor's responsibility to know as much as humanly possible by the time the show began in order to avoid going on the air with wrong or insufficient information.

This was why, despite the chain of production being a team effort, desk editors shouldered a great deal of responsibility. Sometimes they were even tasked with editing story footage themselves, after a reporter submitted their piece. Their work also extended to the broadcast while it was on the air, as they might have to decide on last-minute changes, not only in the event of late-breaking news, but also if production people encountered a glitch that required adjustments to the show.

Morning story meetings included the host, the assignment and desk editors as well as other news and information workers such as sports and arts and entertainment reporters. These last two generally arrived later and never stayed for longer than a few minutes, long enough to present to the room what they were working on.

Informal conversations made up a substantial part of these meetings. After the assignment editor or desk editor revealed an item of interest and set it up for those in the room, she or he justified why the item was relevant. This was generally followed either with the

information that was known about the developing story and the angles that should be pursued, or by some kind of personal statement tied to the story. For instance, while preparing a story on dogs biting humans to death, the meeting's members discussed their own fear of dogs. One member distinguished between dogs with a propensity to kill from those who did not. A story about street signage elicited the telling of jokes and personal experiences concerning confusing signage. These conversations were free flowing and involved everybody present.

"Informal talk," Hogarth (1994) explains, is not a recreational activity. It "is a means by which journalists let off steam" and "'rationalize,' 'cope with'" the situations they are called to understand and cover.[203] These conversations also involved highlighting colleagues' work. This could involve complimenting a worker who was or was not at the meeting, or criticizing a colleague's previous work. The ability to clearly converse with an anchor on the air – perhaps to provide new information on a story – was one example of a highlighted fault. Other criticism took aim at verbose interview subjects and the extra effort that would be required to edit their comments. Hogarth mentions that such criticism helps to "guide production activities in the face of a stream of events," much of it out of news workers' control.[204]

A large part of the decision-making process lay in the hands of the host and the desk editor. "A desk editor and host have a symbiotic relationship,"[205] Patrice Roy told me. However symbiotic this relationship, it was, to a lesser extent than the relationship assignment editors and the shows shared, also based on an occasional tug of war. Chantal Albert, weekend desk editor at Le TJ 18h, said that a host and the desk editor regularly disagree, explaining that one way to deal with disagreements was compromise. Albert, at R-C since 1991 (and Quebec since the 1970s, after emigrating from Haiti), was responsible for four half-hour newscasts on Saturdays and Sundays. Part of her strategy was to defer to the host in a decision to "test run" a story she felt tepid about, then remove it from subsequent newscasts if the host felt that it failed to resonate. "Sometimes I get my way, sometimes she gets hers,"[206] Albert said.

The weeknight newscasts were composed of four sections: the news, the arts, sports and the weather. Commercials excluded, the show was roughly forty-five minutes long. The weekend show, clocking in at roughly twenty minutes, did not contain an arts segment, or a long story mid-way into the newscast as was the case on weeknights. There were usually more than 30 minutes of news (apart from weather, sports, etc.) during the week and about twenty minutes on the weekends.

Time was a significant factor on the mind of news workers, but so was the weight afforded to important stories. This combination manifested itself through a peculiar verbal tic. At least four times during the study, I heard a member of the newsroom, including on Le TJ 18h team, repeat a version of the statement, "We've always got time, it's all about choices." This occurred when an interesting and important story came up and those responsible realized that including it would require re-arranging the show. Another popular verbal cue was the word "uninteresting" (*inintéressant*). It often served as a response to a colleague's idea. Often the person who had proposed the story would then mull it over out loud and respond pensively, "This is not uninteresting ..."

The recurrence of this fuzzy expression illustrated the thought processes that went into putting together Le TJ 18h. On one hand, some elements of the selection process were straightforward. As Roy said, "topics worth covering are self-evident."[207] However, the newscast was not based solely on self-evident items. Much of Le TJ 18h's weeknight shows were the result of Roy's sense of what was journalistically sound, and would be of interest to viewers. For example, the half-hour mark in each show pivoted to an in-depth interview or longer feature story that usually originated with Roy. In addition, regardless of how much broadcast time was at a premium on a busy day, Roy created an international news segment, "Le tour du monde" (world tour) to ensure that international news was not overlooked. Another example of the host's imprint was a book segment, which Roy thought to be important. He explained that, "as long as I have the power to mould Le TJ 18h to what I think is important, I'll do so. I hold a lot of power and I know it."[208]

For her part, Albert estimated that there are always "four or five unavoidable stories" that a newscast must cover, while the rest will depend on the workers creating the show.[209] For instance, a story such as the Fort Murray wildfire, which ravaged the Alberta community in 2016, was included in every broadcast. So was the resignation, less than a year after embarking in politics, of media mogul and Parti Québécois leader, Pierre Karl Peladeau. But whether it was how these items were presented by the anchor on the air, or in the choices made by the desk editor, "every news team wants to have their own show and be different," Albert explained.[210]

Determining what the shows wanted was not always clear for newsroom workers. One of the most seasoned reporters at the station explained that pitching stories became easier with time as reporters became more attuned to the sensibilities of the show in question. During my stay a

story assigned to this reporter garnered interest from Le TJ 18h during the morning meeting. After collecting the elements for the piece, the reporter decided to contact a member of the show some three hours before airtime over a concern that the story might not live up to the pitch. The journalist suspected, after consulting the show's potential line-up, Le TJ 18h might not run it. The journalist eventually sighed with relief after being told over the phone that the piece would run on the show.

However, the story was dropped from the line-up after all. It was determined by senior decision makers that the story did not contain any new information. This brought up an interesting point: the reporter said that the way Le TJ 18h operated was "an enigma for reporters."[211] While other shows might contact them to let them know why a story did not run, this show did not. The piece in question ended up airing on an RDI broadcast instead. Albert said, "nothing is ever set in tone [when it comes to what will go on the air]," as "even what *I* have in mind may not interest my host!"[212]

This difficulty to fully define what constitutes a story worthy of being aired was perhaps best expressed by show host Patrice Roy. During an interview he had mentioned to me that it was high time the show found a new editor-in-chief. A critical goal, in his view, was to start working on stories earlier in the day, preferably before Le TJ 18h's morning story meeting. Since Roy's on-air responsibilities made it impossible for him to start the workday earlier, an editor-in-chief was needed to hash out the most important stories of the day and to decide on the resources required to do them. When I asked him if the editor-in-chief would have a way to figure out, without speaking to him beforehand, what story he would be interested in that day, he chuckled mid-way into my question. "Good point," he answered. Nevertheless "her [the new editor-in-chief] being at the meeting will increase our chances of having the show's needs heard."[213]

Within the context of the organizational structure and power relationships alluded to above, this study seeks to understand how visible minority Montrealers were treated on Le TJ 18h. For this reason, it made sense to monitor the show's newscasts for one month prior to my presence in the newsroom. This was meant to provide a basic indication of what the public could expect from Le TJ 18h before entering the newsroom environment to observe what happens on the inside of the organization.

Overall, visible minority Montrealers of various walks of life were featured in the broadcasts. Out of approximately 180 local stories aired by Le TJ 18h, about 44 featured visible minorities, who appeared on screen approximately 70 times. White Montrealers appeared about 650 times. Some were officials, such as Dominique Anglade, the province's minister for the economy, who was featured on the show multiple times. Mont-Laurier's black mayor was also featured in a piece about the town's shortage of radiologists. An executive at Co-Op de L'Est Taxi, a person of colour, was another example.

Other stories included everyday citizens. One story included a newly arrived Quebecer from Morocco in a piece about Revenu Quebec audits. Montrealers of Cuban descent were interviewed as part of the coverage of Barack Obama's visit to Cuba. A Muslim Montrealer, born in Belgium, was interviewed in the wake of terrorist bombings in that country.

A few of the stories dealing with crime featured visible minorities, such as a drug bust in the district of Montreal-North involving Dany Villanueva, who was filmed and interviewed at the courthouse. Villanueva's case, of course, was deemed to be newsworthy because of the controversy over the police shooting death of his brother, Fredy, in 2008. Also covered was a police operation about an apparent terrorist case concerning threats on social media. The suspect was not shown on camera, although his name was mentioned.

My month in the Centre de l'information observing newsroom operations yielded similar raw results. From the approximately 180 local stories that aired during the study period, around 30 featured 45 visible minority appearances. White Montrealers appeared almost 700 times. A similar spectrum of individuals was cast on the show during this month as well. Four stories, one of which did not make it on the air, were of particular interest for this study.

The Montreal-North By-election

The host of Le TJ 18h interviewed two candidates competing in a by-election in Montreal-North. The district had been notorious for years as a site for crime and social dislocation. This reputation had been established long before 2008 when, on August 9, an unarmed 19-year-old man, Fredy Villanueva, was shot dead by a police officer. The events took place over an illegal game of dice and resulted in riots the next night.[214] The fallout from the Villanueva case was clearly on the newsroom radar over another protest that had taken place about two weeks before the by-election coverage, in the wake of a fatal drug raid. The visible

minority suspect was shot while trying to flee the scene.[215] This was part of the context when interviews with the Montreal-North candidates were conducted.

The by-election interview took place outdoors in Montreal-North as the host took a leisurely walk with each candidate. One candidate, who was backed by Montreal's mayor, was a white woman named Christine Black. Her opponent, Kerlande Mibel, was a black woman who, like many residents from this district, was of Haitian descent. The candidates were featured alternatively as they answered the host's questions. Roy told me that he treated the story in this manner for a variety of reasons: "I often do what we call "walk and talk" interviews. In Montreal-North, as you know, there were the [2008] riots, the Villanueva case, which we covered a lot. Since there were these riots the week before, it was the chance to talk about that … it's also one of the poorest neighbourhoods in the country, [so I wanted to hear from the two candidates] … why?"[216]

On the whole, the host took a consciously balanced approach throughout each encounter, in terms of questions and demeanour. That said, two elements from the interview stood out. On one hand, the host asked the white candidate a question about her feelings toward the neighborhood. He prefaced the question by pointing out that she had worked for a youth centre for 14 years: "You put down some roots in the district over time," said Roy. "You've gotten to know it. What were your prejudices about Montreal-North before coming here?"[217] The question was curious in terms of what it implied. It presupposed that the white candidate came into the election, in this visible minority-heavy district, with prejudices. (The candidates answered she did not know what to expect when she arrived, because she did not know anything about the area before her youth centre stint.) When I asked Roy about the question, he admitted that it may have, indeed, implied something negative about the white candidate. But he thought the question was necessary, given the district's reputation: "She came to Montreal-North after the events in 2008 and they aroused prejudicial feelings in anybody who saw these images [of rioting] on TV and who had never heard of Montreal-North before. It's unfortunate, but it is what it is."[218]

Another part of the interview featured Mibel, the black candidate, laughing with the host as a new segment of the interview began. The viewer was not privy to the reason for the laughter. At this point the host placed his hand on her shoulder momentarily and asked her if being a black woman was an advantage for her. (Roy reciprocated this question in the next segment by asking the white candidate if not being black was a disadvantage to her campaign). The inclusion of this

moment, in an otherwise balanced interview, made Mibel's rapport with the host appear warmer than the more formal interaction with the white candidate.

A Case of Police Brutality and Racial Profiling

A story of interest was discussed during a meeting where, by mistake, I turned up to shadow the weekend desk editor on the wrong day. She was working on the nine and ten o'clock Friday night newscasts. A newsroom member brought up a police brutality story involving an "Arab-looking" male. Right away, various parties at the meeting asked several questions. They wanted to know whether this was a racial profiling case, the age of the individual, if the accuser had a job and if he had a criminal record. The desk editor on duty, Chantal Albert, asked a producer to confirm whether there were any studies on the issue. Although she did not say so specifically, I assumed she was referring to racial profiling or police brutality studies. The host insisted on making room for the story if it developed further. Although the story had taken place in Montreal, the tip about it originated from Toronto.

Ultimately, the story did not go to air. One news worker with intimate knowledge of the details said that the allegations levelled by the alleged victim were considered questionable by Radio-Canada because he had been stopped in the past for the same reason, public intoxication. Another worker said his credibility was also questioned based on the fact that he claimed to have consumed one beer while his friend said he had consumed five. When I asked Albert the reason why the piece had not been run, she said the assignment editor briefly said the story could not be pursued. She further noted that such cases required intensive verification as Radio-Canada had gotten into trouble in the past over a rape story that was ultimately deemed not credible.

Albert cited, in addition to caution, the lack of resources for sometimes not running stories on weekends. She said that because Le TJ 18h on the weekend does not have a producer assigned to it (as the weeknights do), the team was limited in what it could do. "We often have difficulty on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays with stories and finding sources," said Albert. "We had the police's side of the story and the accuser's, but we wanted to go farther and check the credibility of the parties involved, but we couldn't go further."[219]

The Arab Students' Study

A story about a study dealing with radicalization was brought up during a weekday morning meeting.[220] The action–research project was mandated by the government after many

news organizations had reported months before about the departure of Quebecers to Syria. Many of these Quebecers, some of the Muslim faith, were students in a Montreal CÉGEP and were presumably radicalized and had left to lend support to radical elements in the Middle-east. The authors of the study spoke with Muslim students, about how they were forging an identity contrary to the school's fight against radicalization. One of the conclusions from the report was that many of the students interviewed did not feel a sense of belonging as Quebecers. The authors argued that this void, in turn, made such students more likely to fall for radicalizing speeches.

The story itself had flown under the radar for most of the meeting, until Roy himself brought it up. While Roy often pushed for or rejected stories offered by the desk editor or assignment editor, he rarely introduced his own story ideas during the meeting. In this case the story aired on the evening newscast because of Roy's intervention.

The news story, about three minutes long, first covered the official report by citing three main passages from its findings. This was followed by a comment from one of the report's authors who mentioned that many students felt they were looked at as immigrants by French-Canadians, despite being Quebec natives.

A few CDI workers expressed reservations at reporting on studies in general. One news worker I spoke with said that the study was not informative enough to justify covering it and that it was laden with platitudes. Another mentioned that one of the problems with studies in general is that some of them are not well done or have an activist's slant. Another news worker felt too many highlighted alarming numbers, which he found negatively impacted the studies' credibility. When I asked a reporter about his preference, if offered a great story heavier on emotions or heavier on facts, he immediately answered that he would opt for the former. He argued that news reporting hinges on the audience's emotions and that it should not be intellectualized as a priority. When I asked how he reconciled this view of journalism with its claimed intellectual nature, he said people identify with the person they see on the screen. This emotional response, according to the reporter, is what should prompt a journalist to then present the facts.

The reporter admitted that this was not the typical way of doing things at R-C, but Roy pointed out a similar position: "If you bring me a study about newly arrived Quebecers having difficulty finding a job, the study alone won't be turned into a news story. Instead, I'll look for

the story about a Tunisian cab driver who happens to be an engineering graduate, which is a story we've done. *That* would be a story that's personified [and that we'd air]."[221] For Roy, the story was an obvious pick, because the study had been government-mandated in the wake of reports regarding young Quebecers leaving Canada to fight alongside terrorists. The story was topical in that regard and, said Roy, "I thought covering this study was the least we could do."[222]

The Referendum on a Mosque

A news item about a district's cultural centre being converted into a mosque saw yet again a strong involvement from weeknight news host Patrice Roy. The centre had been the subject of a referendum the previous day and the "No" side, which won, did not want it to be recognized as a mosque. Roy expressed immediate interest in the item at the beginning of the story meeting. He considered it an important story. One of the news workers on the piece expressed difficulty in finding people to speak about the decision and was awaiting a call from the mayor about the success of the No campaign.

During the subsequent meeting, in the early afternoon, the same news worker mentioned that it was still difficult to find people willing to talk to him because the topic made people in the neighbourhood uncomfortable. The host questioned the plausibility of that claim and asked for further resources in order to go to the neighbourhood in question and approach residents, including (but not exclusively) those of Arab origin or descent. Later, during the meeting, the host came back to the topic, in the middle of a discussion about other matters, to make sure the district was well located on a map to be shown to viewers during the segment.

When I asked Roy why he insisted on airing this story, he mentioned that he was trying to stem what he called "the easy way out," which entailed only talking to official sources. He said he had resources sent to the neighbourhood twice and that this was how they were able to get various residents from the area, "because we went the extra mile."[223] He had often insisted during editorial meetings that he wanted to see regular Montrealers in the stories presented on the show. This, he said, was how the show could foster a wide representation of the city: "If we feature more Montrealers, then, naturally, our newscasts will be more representative of Montreal."[224] But getting reporters to approach regular people demanded "a constant effort."[225] He compared this to "washing dishes: it never stops," and said that he had to "remind people and remind people [sic]: I want to see some average Montrealers on the show."[226]

Albert, herself, sounded exasperated by an over-reliance on official sources: "Some reporters refuse to talk to regular people and cite so many numbers in their stories, it gets confusing … They say, 'Who's he [a hypothetical citizen] to tell me this or that. He doesn't have a bachelor's degree in anything, he's not a specialist.'"[227] Albert said her response to such comments was that an average citizen was a perfectly reasonable source since laypeople were the ones experiencing whatever ramifications were discussed in the story. Relying on government officials made reporters look like "spokespeople," she said. "Some reporters have difficulty personifying stories. Is it disdain? I don't know. Is it laziness? Timidity? I don't know. I don't get it."[228]

Roy said information he had received from a colleague about "more and more mosques being banned in districts around Montreal where many whites live" had actually planted an idea for a show in his head.[229] The special he was thinking of regarded a full-on profile of Montreal's Muslim community. It would "not at all be about hearing both sides (the Muslim minority and white Montrealers)."[230] Rather, it would be aimed at presenting numbers and facts about who "the vast, vast, vast, vast, vast [sic] majority of Muslims are" and present how they go about their everyday lives.[231]

Roy said that the show would not be meant to "lecture white Quebecers" (an expression I had come up with in a question about a hypothetical backlash to the show) and he put up his "non-angelic" coverage of terrorism as proof.[232] Doing this kind of explanatory journalism was something that Roy said was expected from public media organizations, to "put things into perspective and remove the drama out of issues."[233] (Although he also admitted immediately that he was the network's personality who most often chased stories based on what outraged him). He said public media organizations had "an obligation" to be "useful to the average citizen" and to give "them the tools to better understand the stakes of issues."[234] This was different than private news organizations for whom "scoring" high ratings was a priority higher than it was for an organization such as Radio-Canada.[235]

The interviews conducted after the observation phase were meant to reveal the way stories were treated, but they were also meant to mine two additional areas of interest: what Radio-Canada reporters – particularly but not exclusively those who identify as members of a

visible minority – had to say about the organizational culture of R-C; and to examine how the organization dealt with "diversity" from an executive standpoint.

Many staff members from visible minority communities expressed concerns similar to their traditional Québécois counterparts. Some complained about the difficulty in obtaining acknowledgement and support from editors for the stories they pitched. Many also bemoaned their unstable hours. Indeed, many members of the newsroom were not permanent employees. This meant the number of hours they worked could fluctuate constantly. The few I spoke with who had steady work, despite not being permanent employees, could see their hours cut at any given moment since they were fill-ins. Karim Aït-Oumeziane, who mainly split his time between radio (as a desk editor) and television (as an assignment editor), said accumulating seniority in many positions was a double-edged sword: "It helps in terms of experience … There are very few places in the industry where we get to take on so many things at the same time … But on the flip side we're never in our comfort zone … We're parachuted into these chairs casually, like in a story that's started without us, where we have to fill in the blanks."[236]

According to Aït-Oumeziane, another difficulty for R-C reporters was the very concept of seniority at the network. Seniority, he said, was not determined based on the time one had been at the network or even at a particular station, but based on the time accumulated in a specific role. Additionally, one's seniority might not be recognized from the first day at the position in question. Aït-Oumeziane said that, up to about 200 days (in hours worked), an employee with more seniority at a particular position could be disregarded when it came time to fill in for another employee. Management could make this choice at its discretion. Once this approximately six-month bar was cleared approximately another 70 days on the job had to be accumulated. Only then would a worker's full seniority rights be officially recognized when the time came to substitute for another employee in the position in question. "The newsroom doesn't look that way at first glance," he said, "but it's a really, really competitive place. It's a tough system."[237] The difficulty in moving around this unionized organization led one worker I spoke with to compare the barriers between working for different shows, which are also part of R-C's union rules, as "working for another company."[238]

But, interestingly, many R-C workers, irrespective of their race or ethnic background, commonly agreed that there was a lack of diversity at R-C. In fact, R-C's English counterpart, CBC Montreal, was often lauded as a better illustration of diversity both in the newsroom in

general and in its on-air personnel. This particular comment about CBC Montreal was brought up by at least five out of the 11 interviewees who participated in the study.

Radio-Canada renewed a focus on diversity around 2005. Diversity Director Simard said those in charge of diversity at the network, before he took on the job, focused their efforts on the network's personnel or the onscreen product. Once on the job, in 2013, he became the fourth in charge of what then became a separate department dedicated to matters of diversity. This transformation, he said, signalled a more serious commitment by R-C on matters pertaining to representation. One of his goals was to attract more members of visible minority groups to go on the air, but he initially reasoned that achieving this also required factoring in the number of executives from visible minorities.

He eventually learned that this would not be as straightforward as he had initially thought. He gave an example of the network doing reasonably well when it comes to the presence of women, even if an absolute balance between the genders and across newsroom roles remains elusive: "Even in news shows, where there are many women in executive roles and other positions in the production, we aren't able to reach the 50 percent mark when it comes to women on the air."[239] He attributed this paradox to the fact that qualified women were either not available in large enough numbers to fill the positions typically solicited by news shows, and that those who were qualified were often "reluctant taking the place that is rightfully theirs."[240]

Simard stated that his personal story was probably the reason why he was tapped for the job of diversity director. Although he started out as a journalist, he, as a traditional Québécois, was well traveled by choice, having worked in Ontario and having lived in Colombia, Mexico and Nicaragua. "Maybe because of my personal experience," said Simard, "I'm more sensitive [to the issue of inclusion] and find this more important than other Radio-Canada executives. So they [those who hired him] felt this interested me."[241]

Making R-C more heterogeneous in its composition was an exercise that had to be more than just about generic "wholesome values," he said.[242] Ensuring that employees of various backgrounds worked at the network would ensure that these hires – who could, for instance, become members of the editorial team – assist at catching and preventing the use of clichés. Chantal Albert, Le TJ 18h's desk editor, mentioned that she often had to correct such mistakes in the course of her work pointing to one case, as an example, where a journalist reported about "two Haitians" who had been involved in a fight, when in fact the individuals were Quebec

natives. "I've often sent colleagues emails to ask them if it was necessary to indicate in their articles that the people involved were Haitian," said Albert. "First, visually speaking, we can see they're black … And, second, what did this have to do with Haiti? … These kids were born here, in Quebec … So they're not Haitians, they're Quebecers … You're taking away their nationality as though they're not part of Quebec. And if there's a problem, then it's a Quebec problem, not a Haitian one."[243] Albert said that these mistakes were not ill intended, but were nonetheless "shortcuts that deny something."[244]

However, she did not think that revealing someone's background was always irrelevant. She made reference to the Villanueva case as an example: "We can mention their background in a case where we're talking about two sons of immigrants who have been left to fend out for themselves, or who feel this way, because there's a social dynamic already out there. But if it doesn't add anything to the story, if it has nothing to do with the piece, then who cares?"[245] She added that, "reporters are sensitive to the issue, but they always need to be reminded … They [reporters] work fast … and, sometimes, it's not intentional and they didn't even realize they made the mistake."[246]

For Simard, one obstacle in the way of a more heterogeneous staff at the network was the cultural limitations of the traditional Québécois majority. Simard noted that many of these individuals were seldom in contact with non-white Quebecers. This was the case, he said, because these individuals did not have to deal in their personal lives with co-workers, friends or even neighbours of backgrounds different from their own.

Some of the interviewees related this observation in one form or another from their own interactions with their colleagues. Albert, for instance, recounted a comment a diction coach had made to her after voicing interest in working at the network. He said that she should not "waste your time, you won't ever get a job at Radio-Canada. You don't fit the profile."[247] The coach described this "profile" as "being white, Catholic and from Outremont [one of the wealthiest districts in the province]."[248] She, in fact, had overheard the same teacher tell a prospect of Haitian descent that "they're closed in on themselves [people from the network] and ethnic communities have a hard time finding jobs there."[249] He said this in response to the prospect's voicing a wish to work at the network. Albert said the only reason this teacher did not push back against her own enrolment was because she was already a working professional.

The discomfort that was often felt by visible minority reporters did not seem to register with some white Radio-Canada reporters. For example, I asked a Quebecois reporter – who had told me that he preferred working on stories dealing with cultural groups trying to co-exist – if he had sensed any discomfort between colleagues over culture. The journalist immediately answered, "Never."[250] He justified his response by indicating that the newsroom was made up of "thinkers, intellectuals, well-traveled people."[251] But, Bahador Zabihiyan, a reporter at the station, noted "a certain unfamiliarity"[252] from his colleagues when it came to cultural differences: "They [traditional Québécois colleagues] aren't used to mixing with people from other backgrounds," and that this was apparent in the questions some asked.[253] "There are days when I get asked about my ethnic background three times in a day," said Zabihiyan.[254] He said that even though the questions weren't ill intended, they were "inappropriate."[255] Zabihiyan, who was born in Iran and moved to France at the age of 6 before immigrating to Canada at 19, said some of his colleagues were surprised he knew how to speak French. Zabihiyan, who had interned at CBC Montreal before working at R-C, was one of the interviewees who pointed to what he felt was the anglophone service's better standing on matters of inclusion.

Aït-Oumeziane also expressed some astonishment at questions asked by some of his colleagues. He too referred to the idea of unfamiliarity to explain jokes or comments about his Arab identity (and he too said he did not feel they were said maliciously). He talked about a "very common" mix-up regarding Arab culture, offering the example of people asking a worker, who is part Arab, if he ate pork despite the fact that he is not Muslim.[256] Aït-Oumeziane called the mix-up "baffling, because we're among journalists, so we can think of them as part of the elite. It speaks volumes about what to expect from the 'average Quebecer,' so to speak, if people in a newsroom have difficulty telling this difference."[257]

Some, like Ralph-Bonet Sanon, a Quebecer of Haitian descent, tried to bridge the gap between minority news values and those of the dominant Québécois majority during editorial meetings. Sanon recounted a schism in the newsroom over issues of ethnocultural identity that he noticed during the reasonable accommodation debate, shortly after he had arrived at Radio-Canada. At the time, said Sanon, he noted that the debate over religion, felt uncomfortable to him as "one of the youngest people if not the youngest person there [working on the show]" and "a son of immigrants."[258] He said he "made it my mission" to step in with comments, but not by tacitly sharing his opinions. Instead, he asked questions. He would, for instance, ask: "What's so

important about this story? Why do we have to talk about it again today?" He remarked that he was usually the only one to make such comments, but thought "it was important at least one person said this."

Despite this, some R-C workers acknowledged that the network had made some positive improvements. Chantal Albert said she had:

> … witnessed a vast improvement in the more than 25 years I've been in the business. At first, the specialists we spoke to didn't come from all ethnic communities. It was often the same people being asked to come back and they would rehash the same stuff. As society's evolved, there've been more people from different backgrounds coming out of university with enough credibility to speak.[259]

Zabihiyan, for his part, found that though the breadth of everyday representation of ethnic minority Quebecers featured on television was narrower than the breadth of people he knew in his everyday life, he had noticed the network's active awareness of the issue. "There's a clear effort made to cover topics like immigration, ethnic minorities" and "being careful to not include prejudice," he said.[260]

But for all of the improvements the network had made, some interviewees pointed out that a certain amount of prejudice continued to seep through. Sanon, who split his time between writing and producing, was the first newsroom interviewee to raise the issue of "accent pushback." He said there was a general understanding that certain African accents were not favoured at the network, because "the audience won't want to listen to the piece."[261] The situation, he said, "enrages me, I think it's a dumb way of doing things," because "the command of French is much more important than having an accent."[262] Aït-Oumeziane readily affirmed, when asked, if he had heard of any R-C reporters having their stories rejected because of their accent. He explained that this affected workers from various communities, from both visible and non-visible minorities. "Some reporters' pieces won't air. It's not stated overtly, but I do sense there's definitely a problem with accents at Radio-Canada."[263]

Another worker noted "fads" regarding accents at the network.[264] Explaining that having a European accent was "a good thing"[265] some 25 to 30 years ago, the individual said this

became less the case in the 1990s. As a result "less European-sounding" accents were favoured to go on the air as they were deemed more relatable to the audience."[266] The move was the result of recurring criticism that the network conveyed an elitist image. Comparing the dynamic to a "pendulum swing," the reporter noticed that more European reporters were being hired these days.[267] The editorial worker stated to have never heard any colleagues complain about being prevented from going on the air because of their accent.

Luc Simard noted that there were not always "concrete obstacles" at the network and that "people don't overtly share how they feel."[268] He gave as an example the case of a North-African reporter whose pieces were being turned down by multiple radio shows, "even with the best stories."[269] This was presumably because of the journalist's accent, he said (the editor-in-chief was the one to point to the reporter's accent as being the problem). In this case, said Simard, desk editors used their "power," when it came to "controlling the content of their newscast," to practice "passive resistance."[270] Thus, even if these desk editors had not consulted each other to confirm one another's decision, the end result, the reporter's work not airing, occasioned "a real problem."[271]

Simard said he offered to step in once he caught wind of the situation. The editor-in-chief declined and spoke to the desk editors directly. He said that the work of the reporter (who Simard said was part of an "aural minority," an expression I had already heard from another interviewee) began to air after the talk.[272] While the editor-in-chief said no one admitted that the worker's accent was the problem, Simard conjectured that the resolution of the issue stemmed from several factors. One was that the desk editors realized that management was not actively supporting limitations based on accents, though he added that dealings with the editorial staff was not always as straightforward. There was also the matter of credibility: the desk editors had no credible argument for turning down solid stories based on a reporter's accent. Simard went on to explain that while clarity of one's elocution does matter, having more than one accent on the air legitimately reflects the cultural composition of the province. He compared the situation to that of the Québécois, whose accent was also historically discredited until it became accepted on the air. Simard said it was as though traditional, dominant Québécois were "shutting the door behind them" after having addressed the accent prejudice that had been held against them.[273]

Albert, as a desk editor of Haitian descent, has had to confront both sides of this issue. She stressed that being understood is of paramount importance. "There have been stories where I

couldn't understand what was being said … We only have one chance to be heard. That's how communication works. If I have to listen again … I lose all interest for the piece. It's the reporter's accent that becomes the story."[274] She said that "an accent doesn't bother me,"[275] but that a reporter's "delivery"[276] and "pronunciation"[277] are key. As a desk editor she has had to ask herself: "Do I let a piece go on the air to not be accused of discrimination, or should I advise the individual to pronounce words and speak more clearly so we can understand you the first time. That's part of my job, I have a right to oversee this."[278] She offered as an example having to have a talk with a French-speaking reporter from Toronto, because of his "relaxed pronunciation."[279]

But Albert, who sported an obvious Haitian accent, has had to deal with disrespectful behaviour at the network because of it. A colleague once rolled his eyes, while her back was turned as she was speaking during a meeting, as though exasperated at not understanding her. After another colleague recounted to her what happened, she confronted the individual publicly. "One has to know how to assert themselves and demand respect," she said.[280] Although this happened early on in her career at Radio-Canada, Albert had accumulated experience as a reporter working at another French network during the 1980s, *Television Quatre Saisons* (now called "V"). But the issue of accents, which she deemed "a clear disadvantage," is why she has not worked on the air since.[281] And she points to the conflict that many ethnic broadcasters encounter; the matter of identity: "I never wanted to return on the air [once at R-C], because I would have had to change my accent. That was a big deal at the time and I was asked if I was willing to change my accent. I said no. I don't want to change my accent. It's part of my DNA and cultural heritage, no, I won't change it, I said."[282] She explained that doing so "would have been like prostituting myself to get a job."[283]

As a matter of interest, one minority worker mentioned never having been denied airtime over the issue of accent. However, the reporter was disgruntled at being stuck in a lower-profile job despite having many years of experience and winning awards for work done at the network. The employee – part of whose informal responsibility was to translate international, foreign-language material – drew the line at re-voicing the audio from reports about foreign criminals. The reporter described such work, in light of the lack of professional opportunities at the network, as being "disdainful."[284]

To tackle these concerns, Luc Simard favoured an approach based on concrete targets and initiatives. Much of the network's efforts had to rely on "clear-cut achievements" that "lead us to do better work when we bring on board more interns from various ethnic groups."[285] This process depended on knowledge: knowledge of content, knowledge of the audience, knowledge of those considered "foreign," and also knowledge of the staff. For instance, Simard measured who appeared on shows produced by the network.

Knowing the audience has meant finding an alternative way to rate audiences. Simard said the current method of measuring ratings could not account for R-C's visible minority listeners and viewers. The only way to measure for ethnic-audience participation was through focus groups. Simard said the network had done this exercise in the past for the population in general based on revenue, education and location of residence, but never on the basis of racial or cultural identity.

Simard also encouraged employees, especially those who he came in direct contact with (meeting representatives, but also members of management) to acquaint themselves with people from groups they were not used to being around in their personal lives. One of the ways he enacted this goal was through the committee he presided over each month, comprising representatives from various areas and divisions of the network. For instance, he attempted to have executives interact with newly arrived Quebecers at *Le Salon de l'immigration et de l'intégration au Québec*, a fair geared toward newly arrived immigrants. Even if these interactions did not necessarily yield an actual job offer, or even a job interview, this initiative was meant to foster awareness and make "new" Quebecers less "foreign."

Acquaintanceship with new Quebecers was important to develop awareness about their communities, and the changing Montreal community in general, but it was also an acknowledgment that initiatives on inclusion by the network's human resources department had had limited impact. The fact that the HR initiatives had improved how the network recruited candidates; i.e., broadening locations where job openings were posted or eliminating cultural biases in entrance exams, was not enough, Simard said. Those who generally landed positions at the organization were not necessarily those who had made it to the last rounds of interviews. This was because most people who entered the network, including Simard some 30 years ago, tended to do so "by the side door," by taking advantage of personal connections.[286] Since many

R-C workers were not used to being around people of backgrounds different from their own, this restricted the pool of candidates for the available jobs.

Network journalist, Bahador Zabihiyan, noticed the importance of connections during a training session at R-C. "We were about 20 in this training session and we were asked how many had applied for a job at Radio-Canada by submitting their CV on the website" he said. Three of us had done that. The others got in through an internship or networking."[287] For this reason, internships were one alternative Simard valued, as close to half of those who have participated in an internship at the network went on to work there, "because if I don't do something, we'll be stuck only with whites called Tremblay, Côté or Simard, like myself, which is the case already."[288]

The topic of internships and visible minority staffing seemed to create discomfort for some editorial workers. Ralph-Bonet Sanon, who entered the workplace through an internship program, said he did not talk about it freely with his colleagues. "Personally, I didn't talk about my internship too much at the office … especially with those on the call-back list [casual workers]. It felt weird working full time as an intern while those on the call-back list weren't doing as many hours."[289] He said abstaining from broaching the topic of internships was meant to avoid "people asking [bothersome] questions."[290] No event in particular had spurred this "personal caution," Sanon said he acted this way out of "prudence."[291] However, Bahador Zabihiyan said he had been told "many times" that "it's easier to get in when you're an ethnic minority, thanks to positive discrimination."[292]

The difficulties of organizing an effective internship program were not lost on Simard. We spoke as he was preparing an upcoming program for Indigenous interns who, despite not being considered an official visible minority group at Radio-Canada, were part of a program evocative of both the obstacles and corrective efforts at the network. The program was a top priority for the director, who had told me of past difficulties in attracting Indigenous students to R-C, which had none in its ranks. He said he was aware that the success of the program hinged on "the team's attitudes and treatment of the students"[293] given the network's "track-record when it comes to our working relationship with First Nations people is poor in terms of results."[294] One of his strategies involved getting in touch with management at the stations in question (Montreal's station was not involved in the program, because of its fast-paced nature). This was to sidestep any potential scepticism around the program. He also wanted to ensure that "people

don't feel threatened" since the program, unlike other internships, was paid.[295] Simard said remuneration was necessary for two reasons: all other methods to attract members of Quebec's Indigenous communities had failed in the past, but also because the program involved a full-time workload.

Outreach toward minorities was also done through professional development. Zabihiyan mentioned that the network had offered a training program in the past to promote the diversification of sources. In the program (which was part of a larger training session), Zabihiyan said reporters were told "it's important to reflect a diversity of opinions, but also, especially, a diversity of people … and not approach only white experts in their fifties."[296] For his part Simard, who had been relying on a little-used database of visible minority sources that reporters could contact, decided to try a new approach. He prepared another training session to teach producers how to find, but also coach, a wider array of guests.

The final leg of this "knowledge" quest involved assessing the number of visible minorities in the R-C operation. To do this, the network's human resources department asked employees who considered themselves visible minorities to anonymously check a box in a form, which also included questions unrelated to race and ethnicity. Some visible minority employees complied. But not everybody bought in.

New visible minority employees tended to not check the box when they first entered the network. Simard said they tended to do so after a few years of having worked at R-C. But some, including those who had been at the network for decades, were resolute on not checking the box. Karim Aït-Oumeziane said, "the whole 'minority' thing is weird to me. I don't like the idea of putting people in boxes. Visible this; not visible that … what does that even mean? … I am me. I am a person. My skin colour or my race isn't anybody's business."[297] Albert expressed even stronger opposition to the self-identification exercise, because, as she put it, "I don't want to be pigeonholed."[298] While "statistics are useful … I'm not gonna make things easy for them,"[299] she explained further. "I'm more than just a quota. I'm a human being. People should be hired based on their abilities."[300] Albert noted, tongue-in-cheek, that, "if I don't check the box, it means I give up my spot so that someone else gets the chance to be hired to check that box."[301] She found the "charade"[302] to be "insulting,"[303] since it was intended for R-C executives to "pat themselves on the back for doing a good deed" and "being nice to minorities."[304]

Another interviewee pointed to the "tokenistic approach" at the network as an illustration of the administration's obliviousness on matters of representation. He made this statement as he recalled his disappointment after speaking with an executive some years previously. The worker said, when he complained about the lack of equitable representation on the air at the expense of visible minority reporters, that the executive disagreed and evoked the name of reporters with Italian last names as a mark of the network's openness. This, the worker explained, was illustrative of the superficial "culture" and "reasoning" that concerned itself more with being able to say: "We got an Arab here on the radio, an Asian here, a black one here, there, done!"[305] rather than being genuinely mindful of the city's visible minority population. The worker did not remember if he had checked the box or not.

Simard said he wished that all visible minority personnel would self-identify; however, he recognized that, "it's easier for me, as a white [man], to say this" and "I understand and it's important to respect people's decisions."[306]

The aforementioned findings certainly provide a window into an interesting and often conflicted organizational culture, one where on-air stereotypical representations are being addressed incrementally, but where very real obstacles still exist for an equitable representation of Montrealers from visible minority communities. The concluding chapter examines the Radio-Canada newsroom through the lens of two movements. One is beset by insularity and unfamiliarity; the other comprises clusters of individuals who have taken up the cause of changing the dominant norms that still characterize work at Radio-Canada.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions

Multiculturalism, a policy promoting the "tolerance for members of other groups,"[307] seeks to reify what John Rawls calls "constitutional essentials."[308] They "assure that the basic needs of all citizens can be met so that they can take part in political and social life."[309] On the surface, multiculturalism (or any policy promoting harmonious relationships between social groups) may appear to be unnecessary in Canada. After all, the kind of overt and violent strife around identity politics that, say, the U.S. experiences is largely absent here. But the appearance of a country in which one's race or ethnic culture is not an issue is just that: make-believe. This pretence is a by-product of "one of the "pillars of the Canadian history of race," that is, the "mythology of 'racelessness.'"[310]

Differences in treatment along racial and cultural lines have recently become harder to ignore in Canada. Practices such as carding, which involves police "stopping and questioning individuals and collecting details on their appearance, age, gender, location, mode of transportation and skin colour" have been challenged in large cities such as Toronto.[311] This despite conclusive evidence that demonstrates the majority of carding incidents are unjustified. Some Canadians have also been maligned for their faith. A 2017 poll reveals that 76 percent of Canadians "would be OK with a new Catholic church in their neighbourhood" while just 56 percent felt the same about a mosque.[312] These numbers went down respectively to 65 and 40 percent in Quebec. The polling company's president explained that "if you don't talk about religion, there's an overwhelming human side to us … The minute you introduce religion, it's gone."[313]

In fact after years of stating that racism was the result of individual, anecdotal behaviour,[314] the Quebec government acknowledged in 2015 "the deficit of participation that immigrants and ethnocultural minorities experience due to persistent inequalities and systemic discrimination."[315]

As Jean-Marc Léger explains, this antagonistic feeling towards religion can be found in the province's history. He suggests that, "it isn't the fear of strangers that distinguishes Francophone Quebecers from English Canadians, but rather the fear of the return of religion [which he qualified as a "straightjacket"]."[316] Léger is referring to the unique historical conditions wherein Quebec, for much of its history, had been at the mercy of the province's

Roman Catholic Church. Furthermore, until about 60 years ago, the francophone citizens of Quebec, which would eventually become the country's only province with French as its official language, saw themselves as economic servants to an anglophone minority. In concrete terms, this meant that francophone Quebecers were stuck in unskilled work, while their counterparts of British descent benefited from better jobs.[317] The Quiet Revolution of the 1960s engendered and supported the priority of the French language and culture in Quebec, including in government, and implemented initiatives that still ensure the financial welfare of Quebecers.

But public service employment in Quebec provides a vivid illustration of the dichotomy that has crept into Quebec life between traditional Québécois and those of visible minority backgrounds. Starting in the 1960s, government employment in Quebec saw a rise in French-speaking workers, to right prior wrongs, but even as legions of new Quebecers settled and planted roots in the province their presence in the government remained limited. Bourhis et al. point to the serious flaws (*graves lacunes*) when it comes to the recruitment process tied to visible minority groups.[318] So has the *Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse* as late as 2014.[319]

Discrimination in Quebec society is not always of the brazen or even conscious kind. Some, as Eid has suggested, reveals itself when management actors discard resumes based on an applicant's name and cultural origins.[320] This disregard for "the other," non-traditional Québécois, has also been perpetuated by the cultural limitations of those with organizational power. In other words, the lack of personal contact with individuals from minority groups, and especially visible minorities, has created a vicious cycle. The word of mouth "norms" that circulate within certain organizations, even big media companies, favour traditional Québécois and penalize minority job candidates and workers.[321]

The objectives of multiculturalism have been enforced in the Canadian media as a means to address discrimination. But the results have been varied. Initiatives such as the Employment Equity Act and the Broadcasting Act sought to entrench rules around equitable employment practices and the way that the country's diversity would be depicted in government-mandated organizations such as Radio-Canada and the CBC. Ultimately, these initiatives sought to counterbalance discriminatory effects with respect to the organizations' headcount and cultural practices. But despite these longstanding policies – multiculturalism began being implemented in 1982,[322] the Employment Equity Act was enacted in 1986,[323] and the Broadcasting Act has

existed in its current form since 1991[324] – progress has been slow. One panelist in a 2007 CRTC hearing described "the numbers for people of colour … in Canada's large private broadcasters" as "dismal."[325] In fact some in the news business continue to believe that "it's not our job to promote or not promote diversity."[326]

Indeed, these practices have been hard to change or even acknowledge in Canadian media organizations. In his study examining the cultural makeup of workers at Canadian newspapers John Miller found that many organizations ignored the existence or relevance of the homogeneity of their workforce. Many of the study's participants responded that they did not think their "newsroom's tradition and culture are impeding the hiring and progress of minorities."[327] A lack of introspection has even led some to dismiss the need to look at how newsrooms are operated, going as far as seeing the very act of studying this question as a matter for litigation.

Clearly the society a media organization operates in has a great deal of influence on its functioning. Indeed, according to Augie Fleras, "mainstream media … embody (reflect, reinforce, and advance) the agendas (the interests, perspectives, and priorities) of the dominant sector."[328] Thus even if the lack of fairness is not "deliberate or malevolent" media coverage may "draw attention to preferred aspects of reality by normalizing dominant ideas … while problematizing as irrelevant and inferior those who challenge or resist."[329]

It is in light of these forces that the present thesis tasked itself to understand how newsgathering occurs in a major North-American newsroom located in a culturally and linguistically diverse city: Montreal. The study sought to understand how representation, both on the screen and behind the scenes, was approached. Both kinds of news workers are important since "fairness in recruiting is only meaningful when it means fairness in coverage."[330] The study, given its modest range, did not go in-depth when it came to performing a full content analysis of the program that formed the backbone of the study: Le TJ 18h. Rather, the study concerned itself mainly with the cultural composition of the Montrealers who both illustrated the daily news to their community and who were responsible for editorial decisions about that news.

While the content studied showed that a wide array of minorities was included on newscasts, observation and interview data suggested two distinct "movements" were at work at the station. One was that of a kind of insular unfamiliarity; that is to say, the predominantly traditional Québécois staff were largely thought of as either imposing obstacles on those who

were not part of the majority, or by seeing and treating non-traditional Québécois as "foreign." On the other hand, another movement – largely made up of news workers of colour – aimed to confront the often-covert prejudices of dominant-culture colleagues as each group went about its everyday functions.

The findings, therefore, substantiate a central concern of this thesis, that in spite of some sensitivity to the inclusion of visible minorities in its newsrooms and its coverage, Radio-Canada continues to face organizational obstacles as it moves to implement truly equitable workplace practices. It is important to acknowledge that much has been accomplished in the on-air representation of visible minorities. The two months of newscasts that were studied, both before and during my presence in Le TJ 18h news operation, featured visible minority Montrealers coming from varied walks of life. Some were officials such as politicians or executives from important public and private organizations; others were regular citizens interviewed for stories that did not always pertain to issues regarding their cultural backgrounds. It is also important to note that many senior news workers and executives, including the host of Le TJ 18h, frequently supported the inclusion of visible minority voices; indeed, they used their considerable influence within the organization to ensure that this happened.

The newsroom as a whole (as opposed to Le TJ 18h team) provided some understanding to a question this thesis initially asked regarding recent staffing cutbacks. Did the reduction in reporters due to layoffs negatively affect Le TJ 18h from covering the city equitably?

While the weeknight edition of the show seemed to be largely unaffected and unfazed by staff reductions, weekend programming required a significant restructuring of job expectations and work procedures to counterbalance the loss of staff (some of Le TJ 18h's staff worked on both the show and RDI broadcasts on weekends). This is not to say that a reduction in weekend staffing made it impossible to fulfill program expectations. In fact, only one story during the period of the study was dropped because of a lack of resources on the weekend shift. However, there were concerns among news workers about the quality of the journalism that it was possible to produce with limited resources, even to the extent that some stories sacrificed timeliness to piggyback on the show's Monday-to-Friday resources.

It is from the study's interviews and observation of editorial meetings, however, that this thesis draws the lion's share of evidence that addresses another question the thesis proposed: whether the dominant culture in the newsroom was aware of the sensibilities and sensitivities of

visible minority workers. Problems arising from awareness issues, acknowledged by management, were generally seen to pertain to a lack of knowledge, or even much interest, in the lives of visible minority Montrealers. The network's diversity department director, for example, mentioned that many of the network's traditional Québécois employees were not used to fraternizing with members of other communities in their personal lives. This observation was borne out in some of the interviews conducted for this thesis. One anecdote, for example, taken from a training session, recounted the importance of making contacts at the network as means to enter a "side door" into employment at R-C. Of the 20 people in the training session who were asked about how they had made it to the network only three said they had been hired directly through the online application process. The lion's share of the other employees had been hired after taking part in an internship (where managers would have had the opportunity to assess their suitability for employment) or from knowing someone with authority at the network. As Bourhis et al. suggest, and as a senior R-C executive confirmed, this limitation has had serious implications for future hiring needs and employment opportunities.[331]

Secondly, this knowledge deficit and unfamiliarity with "others" manifested itself in interactions between visible minority employees and some of their traditional Québécois colleagues. A few noted displeasure or puzzlement from these interactions. One reporter mentioned being reminded of his immigrant background too often, something he said he didn't encounter at R-C's anglophone counterpart. Conversely, a traditional Québécois reporter noted that the discomfort felt by visible minority colleagues, and those of different cultural backgrounds generally, was not an issue at the station since reporters were intellectuals and well travelled. Yet a visible minority journalist commented on how surprised he was about how many of his colleagues knew little about the difference between being Arab and being a Muslim. The visible minority reporter found this concerning given his conception of reporters as being better informed than laypeople. He said this gave him a certain amount of ominous concern over what to expect from the general culture of average Quebecers.

But it was on the third issue, the pushback over accents, that there was the strongest consensus about the unfamiliarity of traditional Québécois employees towards other cultures. This pushback was not always aimed at people of visible minority backgrounds; rather, it targeted what two interviewees qualified as "aural minorities" (*minorités audibles*). For instance,

a number of interviewees said they had heard from colleagues that francophone European accents were not favoured on the air at the network.

While some visible minority participants mentioned that their accent had never been an issue in the course of their work, one interviewee, a desk editor born in Haiti, said she declined opportunities to go on the air at the network because of this concern. She had been approached at the onset of her career at Radio-Canada to modify her accent, something she refused to do. She explained that since her accent was "part of my DNA and cultural heritage" removing her accent "would have been like prostituting myself to get a job."[332] The case of the desk editor dated back some twenty years to when the issue was still overtly cited as a reason for barring a reporter from an on-air position.

The diversity department director, Luc Simard, also explained in great detail a case in which the work of a reporter of North-African background had been turned down by several radio newscasts at the network "even with the best stories."[333] He said that he did not believe that the people behind the shows in question had discussed turning down the reporter, but that their decision was no less serious. He went on to say that even though "obstacles" such as this one were not always visible, they were nonetheless damaging because of their real-life consequences. It took another member of management, in this case an editor-in-chief, to step in and bring the situation to the attention of the editors who had turned down the stories. The journalist's work began airing from then on. Simard gave credit to upper newsroom management for intervening toward the resolution of this series of incidents, as it provided a cue to staff that such instances of discrimination, however subsumed into newsroom practices, would not be tolerated. This was reminiscent of Mark Schulman's work on newsroom control mechanisms and the influence of senior employees, with "cub reporters attempting to tailor their own performances to the patterns set by their role models, the veterans."[334]

A few of the participants mentioned that the network had gone through "fads" for some accents over others. What could be best described as casual discrimination towards accent was taken for granted by employees: the European accent, for instance, was sometimes favoured, and at other times was not. The same had at one time applied to the Québécois accent, which was now accepted on the air and was sported by many of the network's most prominent personalities. The director of diversity described this situation, metaphorically, as traditional Québécois

"shutting the door behind them" after obtaining power over their own spoken identity, thus preventing others from enjoying the ascension they had benefited from.[335]

To be clear, a few of the interviewees found that the network was making an effort to improve the state of affairs. They either pointed to experts and other personalities interviewed on-air as being representative of a wider variety of backgrounds and more reflective of the wider Montreal community. One reporter noticed a clear intention on the part of the network to speak about cultural communities in a non-discriminatory way. But for all of the purported improvements, at least five of the 11 news workers interviewed mentioned that they believed the station's anglophone counterpart, CBC Montreal, did a better job at including reporters from a wider variety of communities, or including more Montrealers on the show.

The thesis was interested in finding out how the network has tackled these issues that have clearly not gone unnoticed. Did the organization display any progressive practices, organizationally and on the air? At the outset, this thesis posited that the network's executives would play a large role in tackling minority-related issues. In fact, much of the evidence, as anecdotal as it is, supports the notion of two reasonably distinct groups: one that lacks knowledge, or even much interest, in the lives of its visible minority co-workers; and another that sees its mission as a constant responsibility to educate, elucidate, and change ingrained norms among members of the dominant group.

Though executives did play an important role in changing the degree of sensitivity shown toward visible minorities, they were not alone. Countering this movement of unfamiliarity were various actors, not just at an administrative but at an editorial level, who were pro-active about changing offensive behaviour. Understanding this dynamic entailed re-thinking how members of the newsroom used their agency. News workers could not merely be seen as either acting or not acting in ways that promoted equitable representation. They also used their everyday functions to *react* to and *counteract* practices that did not promote equitable representation.

One approach that stood out among both editorial workers and Radio-Canada's administration was repetition. That is, the workers in question tried to stem a certain form of "institutional inertia" (See: Chapter Two) that directly or indirectly affected the way stories were covered, or the way employment was handled for visible minority Montrealers.[336] Indeed, as R. R. Thomas suggests, those who claim to tackle diversity in an organization must "return repeatedly to their process to determine how well they have done and what next steps would

make sense"[337] and not base equitable representation on glib aims such as "treating others as you would like to be treated."[338] The initiative was progressive in that it not only sought to root out practices that hindered fair representation. It also strove against those practices by avoiding the lure of superficial solutions, which would have little effect, if any, on long-term behaviour.

In the case of the editorial staff, two stories monitored during the study illustrated well the progressive acts of insistence and repetition when issues of representation were addressed. In the first case, Le TJ 18h host Patrice Roy brought up one story that had been ignored for most of the show's editorial meeting. The piece concerned a study on the state of mind of students of immigrant backgrounds in the midst of their school's fight against radicalization.[339] The study suggested that several of the students did not feel like they belonged in Quebec society. This void, in turn, made them more likely to fall for radicalization speeches, the study suggested. While one individual from Le TJ 18h downplayed the study, Roy found the story topical because of a much-covered wave of Quebec student departures for Middle-eastern destinations (presumably to fight alongside ISIS) and since the Quebec government had commissioned the study.

A second example pertained to a referendum to potentially turn a community centre into a mosque. Roy brought up the story at least twice during the day's editorial meetings, after sensing some of his colleagues' lack of commitment to it (he was told that, apart from the city's mayor, not enough laypeople wanted to talk to the station). The piece was eventually completed and featured a few of the district's citizens. In his comments to me about the story, Roy mentioned that getting reporters not to rely on official sources for stories, to seek the opinions of average Montrealers, demanded "a constant effort."[340] Getting more Montrealers on the show, he believed, would logically mean more visible minority Montrealers would be represented in news accounts.

A third story treatment illustrates how Roy acted on the type of discrimination that is more subtle. This is how he explained asking a rather abrupt question to a white candidate during an election campaign for the mayoral bid in Montreal-North. He asked the candidate if she had any "prejudices" when she first set foot in the visible minority-heavy district when she arrived to take a job at a youth centre. This, despite the fact the candidate had not been embroiled in any scandals or even rumours regarding her views on visible minority groups. He justified the question on the grounds that: "She came to Montreal-North after the events in 2008 and they

aroused prejudicial feelings in anybody who saw these images [of rioting] on TV and who had never heard of Montreal-North before. It's unfortunate, but it is what it is."[341]

Roy was looking into producing a segment (or a special altogether) on one of the shows he hosted at the network that would represent the Muslim community through facts and numbers. This was in response to learning about other mosques having been banned around the city. Part of Roy's impetus, especially regarding stories concerning the Arab community, came from what he perceived to be the mandate of public broadcasting. He said that public media had "an obligation" to be "useful to citizens"[342] and "giving them the tools to better understand the stakes of issues."[343]

In these stories, then, Roy did not contribute to the "paradox" Fleras speaks about, a paradox wherein the news business's "commitment to notions of public good, common values, and social order" must co-exist with, or be dwarfed by, the "embracing [of] abnormality, negativity, crime, or conflict."[344] Roy in effect combined both elements, using the conflict between Muslims and white citizens as a springboard to shed light on the growing discrimination besetting the city's Muslim communities.

The weekend desk editor at Le TJ 18h also conceptualized her work through the public service frame. This was illustrated in her recounting of instances where she often had to address reporters' over-reliance on official sources. She expressed impatience with the lack of perspective on the part of the reporters, who often poo-pooed the relevance of comments made by average people. The desk editor justified insisting on speaking to laypeople because they were the ones experiencing the ramifications of the stories.

And she, too, mentioned having to insist on correcting attitudes and expressions she believed to be wrong. She said she had often corrected reporters after they erroneously attributed a wrong nationality to story subjects. She provided the example of a case in which two individuals involved in a scuffle were referred as being Haitian when they were in fact born in Quebec. While the desk editor mentioned that such attribution was not necessarily done maliciously and were the product of reporters having to work under pressure to meet deadlines, she believed these mistakes manifested a form of denial of the subjects' belonging in Quebec society, and of ignoring underlying problems having to do with race, ethnicity, and matters of non-traditional identity.

But while a desk editor or host wielded much influence in the newsroom, even workers with much less sway used what the diversity director called "personal commitment" and the fact that "each feels responsible for their work," to foster some kind of change in their day-to-day functions.[345] One reporter used the little power he felt he had as an intern to make a difference. The worker explained that, during the reasonable accommodation debate, he would express his disagreement with planned stories during editorial meetings. Given his vulnerable position as an intern he reasoned it was best to bring attention to his points through questions.

In the case of reasonable accommodation, a larger number of traditional Québécois were bothered by the idea of different religious practices in or around their lives, which, the worker felt, did not elicit the same response from Quebecers of immigrant backgrounds. Through persistent but unaggressive questioning, he expressed his puzzlement at the attention given to the issue by having the show's staff spell out what made the issue relevant. Incidentally, internships were identified as key to improving the heterogeneity of Radio-Canada's newsroom, the diversity director, Luc Simard believed.

Insistence and repetition were significant tools in management's strategy also when it came to affecting change. It could even be argued that the diversity department itself, and its evolution over the past decade, is a strategic response to internal issues of diversity. Indeed, its response, too, was expressed through the tactics of insistence and repetition. The latest set of initiatives to jump-start the efforts towards more equitable representation at the network began around 2005. These efforts came in the wake of CRTC hearings with the portrayals of minority groups and women showing a generalized dissatisfaction among those presenting to the commission. At that point the initiatives taken by R-C involved mainly the appointment of one individual in charge of overlooking the diversity issue and preparing reports for meetings where various members of the network were present.

After landing the position, in 2014, the current diversity director put initiatives in place to attract a more heterogeneous selection of panelists and experts on the air. This policy change was based on attaining "clear-cut achievements."[346] They thus required the implementation of concrete strategies and had to be based on more than generic "wholesome values," as described by the director. [347] This is also, as in the case of the editorial staff, in keeping with R. R. Thomas's progressive contention that organizations serious about diversifying their workforce must abandon hollow tenets, such as "treating others as you would like to be treated."[348]

The network went about aiming for these achievements by, for instance, identifying the presence of visible minorities on the air. The archiving system was used to keep tabs on various indicators such as the appearance of panellists based on their cultural group, a method that was used for different kinds of analyses, including counting the on-air appearances of political party members to prevent slanted coverage. One tool the network had used for several years to increase the number of visible minority experts solicited by news shows was "Mosaika." But this databank, which contained the names of several hundred contacts, was hardly used by the editorial staff. As a result, Simard was preparing a training session with producers to assist them in finding ways, which included the use of the database, to look for and coach a wider selection of community sources.

The breadth of actions required, and the relentless application of measures to address issues of representation was also apparent in the way that Simard organized and implemented an Indigenous internship project. This example also is reflective of Thomas's organizational perspective where change occurs incrementally when managers, over time, "return repeatedly to their process to determine how well they have done and what next steps would make sense."[349] In the case of the Indigenous internship the network had attempted to attract Indigenous students for several years, because Radio-Canada simply had no Indigenous news and information workers. Simard therefore decided in 2016 to start a program more tailored to the needs of Indigenous internees. The program involved paid, full-time work, a significant departure from regular internships, which are typically unpaid and undefined in their commitment to work expectations. Simard said this was exceptional, but necessary, because all other attempts had failed.

Internships in general were a thorny topic at the network. One worker mentioned that his colleagues believed that it was easier for minorities to gain employment at the network because of such initiatives. Another said he did not discuss the topic of internships with his colleagues as the one he took part in was geared towards groups covered by The Employment Equity Act. The news worker mentioned not having ever had any negative discussions about the issue, but thought it prudent not to discuss it because the program had provided the opportunity to temporarily work full-time, an advantage that other casual workers in the newsroom did not enjoy.

Given the cloud of discomfort around the question of internships and the network's "track-record when it comes to our working relationship with Indigenous peoples [that] is poor in terms of results,"[350] Simard said he was prepared for blowback from Radio-Canada workers at the stations involved in the program. A major part of the strategy, then, involved making sure "people don't feel threatened" and ensuring that Indigenous students did not enter their assignments with no prior planning. He explained that he had laid the groundwork for this project by approaching strategic members of the management teams at the stations in question. The goal was for people who wielded some influence to ensure that the interns would be mentored by staff. Ultimately, Simard hoped the program would foster a relationship between the Radio-Canada stations and the communities the interns came from.

Indeed, matters of acquaintanceship and knowledge guided much of the strategy developed by Simard's department. The way he tackled representation organizationally and on the air could be summed up with reference to two major types of knowledge. The first involved contact: network employees, including executives, were encouraged to engage in concrete actions such as actually meeting people as opposed to receiving passive information such as that contained in reports. Simard acknowledged that this would not always lead to job creation; its aim was to engender awareness among network employees about people who came from realities different from their own. One of the ways Simard did this, for example, was to get executives to attend a fair for newly arrived Quebecers.

This focus on acquaintanceship was important to Simard because while the network had improved the search process for candidates from a human resources standpoint, he readily admitted that recruiting outside candidates boasting stellar credentials was not enough to lead to more visible minority employees working at the network. Those who landed jobs at R-C tended to do so as a result of having forged relationships at the network.

Secondly, knowledge-through-numbers was adopted as part of the strategic plan. As stated above, Simard assessed the number of on-air panellists that the network used based on their cultural background. But he also tasked himself with examining Radio-Canada's visible minority audience, which the network had never before measured and assessed. While ratings were tabulated based on location, gender, income, and age, one's ethnic or cultural background had never been factored into the audience profile. A system of focus groups had been put in place to gauge audience diversity and how to respond to matters of representation.

But one attempt to gather data stirred some controversy and pushback. A few employees, including some among those interviewed for this thesis, did not take well to checking a box on a survey that invited visible minority employees to self-identify as such. Those who chafed at the box-checking exercise recognized that there were good intentions behind the network's desire to represent the city more equitably, but they also felt that this statistical approach was largely evaluating them based on their identity and not their abilities.

From a practical standpoint, keeping tabs on how many more or fewer visible minorities were at the network, whether they worked in front of or behind the camera, made sense because it provided a distinguishable indicator of how far along (or not) the network had come. At any rate, it was a sensible option, as Theodore Glasser maintains, as long as it did not restrict itself to "the folly of reducing diversity to physiographic criteria for admission and employment," and also homed in on the culture and practices of Radio-Canada and its newsroom.[351]

Understandably (from the vantage point of the offended employees), the practice of counting visible minority employees used the same tool that was used to ostracize them: their identity. This was compounded by the fact that some at the network already thought, erroneously, that minorities had an easier time being hired; that some among the visible minority employees thought measures tied to a headcount were not sincere efforts to improve diversity; or that visible minority reporters anticipated being at odds with colleagues (who they were competing with) over these initiatives and having their aptitudes discredited or questioned irrespective of their cultural background.

There certainly was evidence that a level of discrimination at the network was a justified concern. As both Tolley and Bourhis et al. suggest, for example, much of the pushback over "foreign sounding" accents is ingrained in the Canadian experience. Tolley evokes the difficulties of non-visible minority Canadians throughout history who have gone as far as "concealing their accents" to feel or be accepted.[352] For their part, Bourhis et al. relate the real concerns many Quebecers, both francophones and anglophones, have felt about discrimination based on their language and accent.[353] These "obstacles," as the diversity director called them, were very much alive for R-C workers too.

To conclude, what are the implications when it comes to hiring and programming in Radio-Canada's news operations? The effects of the ethnocultural structure that influences the CDI are not monochromatic. Clusters of actors in the newsroom have shown themselves to be

agents of progressiveness. They have expressed agency with pro-active stances and their decision to push back through reasoned actions, actions that they insist on repeating and promoting by example. This was true for those trying to find solutions to crafting a more representative workforce and work environment, and for those responsible for what goes on the air at the network. In fact, a few interviewees, including those who voiced complaints about some of their experiences at the network, still mentioned liking to work at Radio-Canada, or had noticed that the station was making an effort to improve the sensitivity of its coverage of minority issues and concerns.

But it was the topic of accents where the consequences for staffing and programming remained the most glaring. The diversity director said that part of the issue Radio-Canada faced, when it came to staffing, was the low enrolment by visible minority students in journalism schools, where Québécois and European-French students dominated. But the issue with accents showed that even if journalism schools boasted more visible minority students, these graduates might face a newsroom culture that views them as "foreign" Quebecers. The few examples visited in this thesis illustrate that even after having been hired and doing work deemed to be worthy, some minority workers had their stories turned down or were discouraged from working on the air because of their accent.

This is why representational fairness cannot strictly be achieved by making it at the network or by improving the headcount of visible minority employees: fairness must also express and foster the "equal opportunity to influence,"[354] and "equality of political capacities."[355] In the present context, the former entails having one's work judged in the same light as others', particularly the work done by Québécois colleagues. And "equality of political capacities" must also be ensured so as to not stunt the social impact of their work, as well as to ensure that careers are given the opportunity to flourish rather than be hindered by any form of discriminatory practice.

The conditions of unfamiliarity and insularity that participants have identified in interviews carry implications not just for staffing decisions, but also for the stories the station tackles. This is why, as Alice Chantal Tchandem Kamgang notes, Radio-Canada's inclination towards international news coverage might occur at the expense of full-bodied reporting on the lives of visible minority Quebecers.[356] In two instances during the observation phase of the research for this thesis Le TJ 18h staff ignored hot button stories regarding Muslims and their

relationship to the white majority. The pieces ended up being picked up only after the newscast's anchor insisted on dispatching resources to cover what he considered to be important additions to the daily newscast. But is it enough to rely on the personal and professional influence of individuals when it comes to a true reflection on the nature of Montreal as a truly diverse urban culture, one that inevitably must deal with conflict between and among cultural solitudes? Based on the evidence that has emerged, clusters of workers throughout Radio-Canada have taken up the issue of representation, but the awareness they promote is still mostly organic, rather than driven by policy. Responses to matters of prejudice or even simple ignorance toward the "other" still tend to be ad hoc and tempered by one's status in the newsroom. As a result, the newsroom is at risk of downplaying stories concerning visible minority Montrealers.

One interviewee, while mentioning how often reporters "go to great lengths to not make it appear they are conflating Islam and terrorism" might have provided one potential explanation for this reluctance or disinterest in covering visible minority-centric stories: "It shows how people here are not used to seeing Muslims, talking about Muslims."[357] As the news worker explained, the newsroom tended to go out of its way to promote *discrimination-free* coverage, which, strangely, carried the potential to make journalists shy away from reporting on complex issues related to race and ethnicity. Such reports, involving communities many of the reporters are not accustomed to fraternizing with, were a potential minefield because they held the possibility of attracting negative attention, even to the point of branding reporters as racist. The easiest way to avoid the heat, then, was to avoid such stories altogether, or to perform "weirdly reticent and pre-emptively self-censored reportage."[358]

Certainly, Radio-Canada's zeal with representing viewers more equitably has not taken place in a vacuum. Much like R-C, more and more organizations and institutions have been called upon to improve their approach toward representation. Interestingly, one recurring comment throughout the interviews was how well R-C's anglophone counterpart, CBC Montreal, has fared with respect to representing the city's heterogeneous makeup both in content and in the representation of visible minorities in its newsrooms. Further research would do well to shed light on the practices of the English-language service to examine if these views are justified and how Radio-Canada and any other organization with a mandate to serve the *whole* public might benefit.

Endnotes

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CHAPTER 2

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CHAPTER 4

[189] Chantal Francoeur, *La transformation du service de l'information de Radio- Canada*.

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[191] ["Du lundi au vendredi […] ils ne savent plus où mettre les gens. Ils [ceux qui travaillent au CDI la semaine] ont du personnel à n'en plus finir. […] Il faut qu'on soit sûr de nos coups, qu'on soit des valeurs sûres parce qu'on a peu d'effectifs et il y a moins de personnes pour le choix éditorial. Alors quand on envoie un journaliste sur le terrain il faut qu'on soit sûr que la personne revienne avec une histoire parce qu'on ne peut pas le manquer. S'il revient et [on se rend compte qu'] il n'y pas d'histoires là, on vient de perdre 2 minutes dans le bulletin,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[192] ["La semaine ils sont en Cadillac, nous, on est en Toyota,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[193] ["Ce matin tu fais ça, demain tu feras un show : tu peux te retrouver à l'économie, tu peux te retrouver même au culturel,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

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[197] ["Sur Internet, le sujet le plus con peut avoir beaucoup de succès. Beaucoup de 'Likes'. […] Est-ce que […] c'est parce que c'est le sujet le plus apprécié sur internet qu'on doit […] ouvrir le bulletin avec ça ?"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 22 June 2016.

[198] ["C'est les deux faces d'une même monnaie,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 26 May 2016.

[199] ["C'est les deux forces,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 26 May 2016.

[200] ["Cette culture d'entreprise, à Radio-Canada, fait que chacun se sent responsable et donc prend ses responsabilités et se dit 'Je suis maître de mon environnement, je suis maître de mon travail, je veux contrôler mon travail, donc ce n'est pas un patron qui va venir me dire quoi

faire.' […] Les gens qui viennent ici ont envie de faire progresser Radio-Canada. Ce sont des gens très dévoués. […] Il y a un côté très 'engagement personnel.'"] Luc Tremblay. Personal interview. 27 May 2016.

[201] Gaye Tuchman, *Making news: a study in the construction of reality*, 33.

[202] ["Est-ce que moi je suis le *gatekeeper* de mon émission ? Oui. Evidemment, comme il n'y a pas de rédacteur en chef, je fais les deux."] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 26 May 2016.

[203] David Hogarth, "Agency and structure in cultural production: a case study of news work at Canada's CBC Newsworld," 130.

[204] Ibid*.,* 134.

[205] ["C'est une relation symbiotique entre l'animateur et son [chef de] pupitre,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 26 May 2016.

[206] ["Des fois, je cède, des fois elle cède,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[207] ["Les sujets s'imposent pas à nous. Ce qu'on discute, c'est le traitement. […] Ce n'est pas comme si on partait d'une feuille blanche et on théorisait 'Y-a-t-il assez de présences de communautés culturelles [dans le bulletin] ?'"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 26 May 2016.

[208] ["Tant que j'ai ce pouvoir de prendre la plasticine, qu'est l'émission, et de la modeler selon ce que je crois est important, je le fais. Ce pouvoir là que j'ai, je ne me le cache pas, j'en ai. J'en ai beaucoup,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[209] ["4 à 5 sujets incontournables,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[210] ["Chacun veut avoir son propre show et être diffèrent de l'autre,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[211] ["Le TJ 18h … c'est un peu une énigme,"] Anonymous. Personal interview. 31 May 2016.

[212] ["Même mon choix, ça peut ne pas intéresser mon animatrice aussi !"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[213] ["Bonne question. Mais, au moins, de façon systématique il va avoir quelqu'un du TJ 18h […] qui sera au meeting. […] On a plus de chance que nos besoins soient entendus."] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[214] "Officer who shot Villanueva feared for life," cbc.ca, 8 December 2008.

[215] "Jean-Pierre Bony, man shot during Montreal North drug bust, has died," cbc.ca, April 4.

[216] ["Je fais ce qu'on appelle des *walk and talk* assez régulièrement sur le terrain. […] Montréal Nord, c'est un quartier, comme vous le savez, en 2008, il y avait les émeutes, l'affaire Villanueva, qu'on a beaucoup couvert. Il venait d'avoir des émeutes la semaines d'avant. C'était l'occasion de faire le point. […] C'est un des quartiers les plus pauvres du Canada, pourquoi ? "] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 26 May 2016.

[217] "Vous avez pris racine dans le quartier de plus en plus, vous avez appris à le connaitre. C'était quoi vos préjugez sur Montréal-Nord avant, vous ?" interview by Patrice Roy, *Téléjournal 18h*, April 20, 2016.

[218] ["Elle est arrivé après les évènements de 2008 et tous ceux qui ne connaissent pas Montréal-Nord qui ont vu ces évènements là, à la télévision, ont développé des préjugés sur Montréal-Nord. C'est malheureux, mais c'est comme ça,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 26 May 2016.

[219] ["Le plus souvent le vendredi, samedi et dimanche, on a de la difficulté à pousser des reportages et trouver des intervenants. […] On a eu la version de la police et on a eu la version de la personne qui portait les accusations pour dire qu'elle était victime de profilage racial, mais au delà de ça on voulait vérifier la crédibilité de tout et chacun là-dedans, mais on n'a pas pu aller plus loin,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 22 June 2016.

[220] Dejean et al., "Students faced with religious radicalization leading to violence. The more you know, the more you can prevent."

[221] ["Si tu m'arrives avec une étude en disant que les immigrants à Montréal ont encore trop de difficultés, à compétences égales comme tu dis, à trouver des emplois, l'étude en soi, ce n'est pas un sujet. Racontons l'histoire de ce chauffeur Tunisien qui est diplômé en génie, qu'on a déjà fait. […] *Ça* c'est une histoire incarnée,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 26 May 2016.

[222] ["Je trouvais que la moindre des choses, c'est de rendre compte de cette étude,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[223] ["On est allé un petit peu plus loin,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[224] ["Si on met plus de Montréalais dans nos bulletins, forcément ça va être représentatif de Montréal,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[225] ["Un effort constant,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[226] ["Il faut rappeler ça, c'est comme faire la vaisselle, c'est jamais fini : il faut rappeler ça, il faut rappeler ça : je veux dans les reportages entendre des Montréalais,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[227] ["Il y en a d'autres qui sortent des reportages avec des chiffres à ne plus rien comprendre et qui ne vont pas parler aux gens. […] Ils disent 'Qui est-il pour me dire tel affaire, il n'a pas un bac, il n'est pas un spécialiste,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[228] ["L'incarner avec une personne qui représente le sujet qu'on est en train de couvrir, il y a des journalistes qui ont des difficultés avec ça. Est-ce que c'est le dédain ? Je ne sais pas. Est-ce que c'est plus confortable, est-ce que c'est la timidité ? Je ne sais pas. Il y a quelque chose là-dedans que je n'arrive pas à comprendre,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[229] ["Il y a des mosquées de plus en plus interdites dans la périphérie de Montréal blanche,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[230] ["Ce n'est pas les deux bords du tout,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[231] ["Qui sont la vaste, vaste, vaste, vaste, vaste majorité des musulmans," (sic)] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[232] ["Pas angélique face à l'extrémisme,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[233] ["Mettre en perspective, dédramatiser,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[234] ["On lui donne et on se donne les moyens de mieux comprendre les enjeux,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[235] ["Scoré,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[236] [Ça aide du point de vue de l'expérience. […] Il n'y a pas beaucoup d'endroits dans l'industrie où on peu toucher à autant de fonctions en même temps. […] Pour le côté un peu… pour le revers de la médaille c'est qu'on n'est jamais, un peu, dans notre zone de confort. […] Et on est parachute dans ces chaises-là de façon ponctuel. On n'arrive un peu dans une histoire qui a commencé sans nous et, nous, on doit […] un peu […] *fill in the blanks*,"] Aït-Oumeziane, Karim. Personal interview. 24 May 2016.

[237] ["C'est très, très compétitif. Ça n'a pas l'air comme ça quand on est dans la sale. C'est un système qui est *tough*,"] Aït-Oumeziane, Karim. Personal interview. 24 May 2016.

[238] ["C'est comme aller travailler pour une autre entreprise,"] Anonymous. Personal interview. 26 May 2016.

[239] ["Même dans les émissions d'information où il y a beaucoup de femmes dans les postes de direction et des postes à tous les niveaux de responsabilité dans la chaine de production nous ne sommes pas capables d'atteindre la représentation de 50% de femmes à l'antenne parce que dans la société en générale, il n'y a pas 50% de femmes dans des postes de responsabilités, des postes de porte-parole. Et quand les femmes sont là, il y a souvent la limite que les femmes ne se sentent pas assez capables et manquent de volonté de se mettre en avant […]. Beaucoup de femmes hésitent avant de prendre la place qui leur reviennent,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 5 November 2015.

[240] Ibid.

[241] ["Peut-être à cause de mon expérience personnelle je suis sensible [à la cause de la diversité] et je trouve peut-être ça plus important que d'autre dirigeants de Radio-Canada. Alors c'est sans doutes pour ça qu'on m'a demandé de m'occuper de ça : parce qu'on sentait que ça m'intéressait,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 5 November 2015.

[242] ["Valeurs positives,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 5 November 2015.

[243] ["Je leur ai dit souvent…j'envoie des courriels à mes collègues. Je dis, écoutez, dans ce reportage là, est-ce qu'il est nécessaire de mentionner que c'était des jeunes haïtiens ? Premièrement au visuel, on voit que ce sont des noirs. […] Et deuxièmement c'était quoi le rapport à Haïti ? Ces enfants là sont nés ici, au Québec. […] Donc ils ne sont pas des Haïtiens mais des Québécois. […] Vous leur enlevez leur nationalité comme s'ils ne font plus partie du Québec. Et s'il y a un problème, c'est un problème québécois, pas un problème haïtien,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[244] ["Des raccourcis qui font qui font le déni de quelque chose,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[245] ["Là, il y avait une dimension de jeunes immigrants, des enfants d'immigrants qui se sentent laissés à leur compte. Là, on peut faire mention de ça parce qu'il y a une dynamique sociale qui tend vers ça. Au delà de ça, si ça ne rajoute rien a l'histoire, si ça n'a rien avoir avec l'histoire on s'en fout,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[246] ["Ils sont sensibles à ça mais il faut toujours les rappeler de toute façon. […] Ils travaillent vite […] et des fois c'est même pas intentionnel, ils ne font même pas attention, ils ne sont pas rendus compte qu'ils ont fait l'erreur,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016]

[247] ["Ne perd pas ton temps, tu n'iras jamais travailler à Radio-Canada. Tu n'as pas le profile,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016

[248] ["Être blanc, francophone, d'Outremont,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[249] ["C'est un milieu fermé, les communautés ethniques ont beaucoup de difficulté à se faire placer,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[250] ["Jamais,"] Anonymous. Personal interview. 2 June 2016.

[251] ["C'est trop un milieu [Radio-Canada] de réflexions, d'intellectuels, de voyageurs,"] Anonymous. Personal interview. 2 June 2016.

[252] ["Une certaine ignorance,"] Zabihiyan, Bahador. Personal interview. 19 May 2016.

[253] ["Ils [collègues étant québécois de souche] n'ont pas l'habitude de côtoyer des gens qui viennent d'un autre milieu,"] Zabihiyan, Bahador. Personal interview. May 19, 2016

[254] ["Moi, il y a des jours que je me fais demander d'où je viens, mon origine ethnique, 3 fois par jours. C'est déjà arrivé qu'on me l'ait demandé 3 fois dans la même journée,"] Zabihiyan, Bahador. Personal interview. 19 May 2016.

[255] ["Déplacé,"] Zabihiyan, Bahador. Personal interview. 19 May 2016.

[256] ["Une grosse confusion entre Arabe et musulman, ça c'est très commun,"] May 24, 2016.

[257] ["C'est assez frappant parce qu'on est quand même dans un milieu de journalistes. Quand même on peut supposer quelque part, c'est une élite. Alors ça te dit quelque chose…pour moi ça dit beaucoup de ce qu'est le québécois ordinaire, entre guillemets, parce qu'encore dans une salle de nouvelles il y a des gens qui ont du mal à voir les différences,"] Aït-Oumeziane, Karim. Personal interview. 24 May 2016.

[258] ["Quand je travaillais à « Maisonneuve en direct, » c'était à peu près dans le moment de toute la grosse discussion sur les accommodements raisonnables et j'étais un des rares jeunes sinon le seul jeune qui était dans l'équipe de recherchistes. Mais en plus j'étais de parents immigrants et je suis noir. … Tandis que le reste des recherchistes et l'animateur, étaient des québécois de souche et tous dans la cinquantaine et plus. … Ils avaient un focus là-dessus que moi je n'arrivais à pas comprendre. Et comme je n'arrivais pas à comprendre, je ne voyais pas l'importance. … Quand on faisait notre réunion de production où on décide de ce dont on va parler dans l'émission je me faisais vraiment un devoir [de demander] … « Qu'est-ce qu'il y a de si important dans ce truc ? » « Pourquoi il faut absolument en parler encore aujourd'hui ? » J'étais

la seule voix qui disait ça mais je trouvais que c'était important qu'il y ait au moins une voix qui le dise,"] Sanon, Ralph-Bonet. Personal interview. 17 May 2016.

259 ["Pour être dans le milieu depuis plus de 25 ans, j'ai vu une nette amélioration. Au début on avait pas nécessairement les spécialistes de toutes les communautés culturelles. C'était les mêmes têtes qui revenaient souvent pour parler de tous les sujets et de rien. Au fur et a mesure que la société a évolué, on a plus de personnes formées dans les universités qui ont de la crédibilité pour venir en [de tous les sujets] parler,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

260 ["Ça se voit qu'il y a un effort qui est fait pour mieux couvrir l'immigration, les communautés ethniques, faire très attention pour ne pas mettre de préjugés [dans les reportages],"] Zabihiyan, Bahador. Personal interview. 19 May 2016.

261 ["Les auditeurs vont pas accroché là-dessus, qu'ils ne vont écouter ce que le reportage a à dire,"] Sanon, Ralph-Bonet. Personal interview. 17 May 2016.

262 ["Ça m'enrage, je trouve ça vraiment con comme décision parce que la maitrise du français, je trouva ça beaucoup plus important qu'un accent,"] Sanon, Ralph-Bonet. Personal interview. 17 May 2016.

263 ["Il y a certains journalistes dont les reportages ne passent pas. […] C'est quelque chose que je perçois. Ce n'est pas dit de façon claire. Définitivement, il y a un problème avec les accents a Radio-Canada,"] Aït-Oumeziane, Karim. Personal interview. 24 May 2016.

264 ["Il y a des modes,"] Anonymous. Personal interview. 7 June 2016

265 ["Une bonne chose,"] Anonymous. Personal interview. 7 June 2016.

266 ["Pour se rapprocher des gens, entre guillemets, on avait tendance à chercher des accents qui étaient moins européens,"] Anonymous. Personal interview. 7 June 2016.

267 ["C'est comme dans un pendule, ça va dans un sens, ça va dans l'autre,"] Anonymous. Personal interview. 7 June 2016.

268 ["Ce à quoi on [le réseau] fait face la plupart du temps ce n'est pas des barrières concrètes. Les gens ne disent pas ouvertement ce qu'ils pensent ou ne mettent pas des bâtons dans les roux clairement mais peuvent faire de la résistance passive. Prenons la question the accents […]. Il semble bien qu'il y ait au moins un reporter auquel je pense qui a fait l'objet sinon de boycott ou, au moins, d'un certain manque d'intérêts de la part des pupitres au CDI à cause de son accent. Et

je pense que la raison de départ c'est que pour certains pupitres, donc des secrétaires de rédaction, qui ont beaucoup de pouvoir parce qu'ils contrôlent le contenu des bulletins de nouvelles, on n'aimait pas l'accent de ce reporter là. Je ne suis pas sûr qu'ils en avaient parlé entre eux mais c'est quelque chose qu'ils ont fait ensemble quand même. [Ils se sont dit] 'Si d'autres ont refusé le reportage de celui-là, pourquoi moi je le prendrais ? Il l'a refusé à cause de son accent pourquoi moi je devrais le prendre, moi non plus je n'aime pas son accent.' Il est fort probable que les pupitres ne ce soient même pas parlés. De façon comment je comprends la chose ça concerne plusieurs pupitres. Je pense même plus que deux. Mais probablement que personne ne s'est parlé. Quand je dis barrière passive, et dans ce cas là même barrière muette, c'est une barrière réelle quand même. Si un chef de pupitre, et je pense que ça s'est produit, refuse le reportage quand même intéressant d'un journaliste parce qu'on n'aime pas son accent … un premier chef de pupitre le refuse, un deuxième chef de pupitre le refuse, peut être un troisième le refuse, on a un problème. Réelle,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 10 June 2016.

[269] ["Même avec les meilleures histoires,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview.10 June 2016.

[270] See note 268.

[271] See note 268.

[272] ["Minorité audible,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 10 June 2016.

[273] ["Les Québécois francophones francophones ont fermé la porte derrière eux,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 4 April 2017.

[274] ["Je sais que j'ai déjà écouté des reportages [où] je n'arrivais pas à comprendre le reportage a la première écoute. Si moi je ne comprends pas, parce que la personne à un accent, à la première écoute. … on a seulement qu'une seule chance de se faire écouter une fois. C'est ça la communication. Si je dois réécouter […] je perds tout intérêt pour le reportage. C'est l'accent de la personne qui devient la nouvelle,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[275] ["Ce n'est pas l'accent qui me dérange,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[276] ["La livraison,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[277] ["Manqué de prononciation,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[278] ["Est-ce que, moi, je dois le passer pour ne pas faire de discrimination ou bien bien je dois dire à la personne 'Articule plus,' 'Essaie de mieux parler pour qu'on puisse te comprendre dès

la première prononciation.' Ca fait partie de ma job aussi donc j'ai un droit de regard là-dessus,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

279 ["Diction était relâchée,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

280 ["Il faut savoir s'imposer et imposer le respect,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

281 ["C'est sûr, c'est un désavantage,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

282 ["Je n'ai jamais voulu retourner aux reportages parce qu'il aurait fallu que je gomme mon accent a l'époque, c'était ça qui était prioritaire. [On m'a dit] 'Tu as un accent, est-ce que tu veux changer ton accent ?' J'ai dit non. Je ne veux pas changer mon accent. Ça fait partie de mon ADN, de mon héritage culturel. Je ne le change pas,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

283 ["Ce serait comme me prostituer pour avoir un emploi,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

284 ["Réducteur,"] Anonymous. Personal interview. 10 June 2016.

285 ["Il faut montrer comment ces valeurs positives vont nous emmener à faire mieux notre travail […] si on a davantage de stagiaires issus de divers backgrounds ethniques,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. November 5 2015.

286 ["Par la porte de côté,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 14 December 2015.

287 ["Une formation ou j'étais, on devait être 20, puis la formation demande qui parmi vous a appliqué à Radio-Canada en allant sur le site web en cliquant et déposant votre CV. Je pense parmi les 20 on était 3 qui ont fait ça. Les autres sont rentrés … soit c'est quelqu'un qui leur a trouvé un stage, du networking et tout ça,"] Zabihiyan, Bahador. Personal interview. 19 May 2016.

288 ["Parce que si je n'agis pas on aura des Simards blancs, comme moi, des Tremblays et des Cötés, et c'est déjà la situation,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 14 December 2015.

289 ["Perso, moi je n'en parlais pas trop, de mon stage Coup de pouce. Je n'en parlais pas trop à l'interne […] surtout aux gens de la liste de rappel parce que c'est une drôle d'impression de travailler à temps plein en tant que stagiaire alors que les gens qui sont sur la liste de rappel travaillent pas,"] Sanon, Ralph-Bonet. Personal interview. 17 May 2016.

290 ["Pour pas que des gens commencent à aller poser des questions,"] Sanon, Ralph-Bonet. Personal interview. 17 May 2016.

291 ["Prudence ou méfiance vraiment personnelle,"] Sanon, Ralph-Bonet. Personal interview. 17 May 2016.

292 ["Les gens pensent que c'est parce qu'on est une minorité ethnique, donc ça va être plus facile pour moi de me faire embaucher, parce qu'il y a de la discrimination positive,"] Zabihiyan, Bahador. Personal interview. 19 May 2016.

293 ["Ça va beaucoup dépendre de l'accueil et de l'attitude des équipes qui vont recevoir ces gens-là,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 10 June 2016.

294 ["Notre historique de travail avec les autochtones est assez …. Comment-dirais-je … assez pauvre en terme de résultats,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 10 June 2016.

295 ["Il ne faut pas que les gens se sentent menacés là-dedans,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 10 June 2016.

296 ["C'est important de refléter la diversité des points de vue, mais la diversité des gens surtout […], pas juste mettre des experts blancs dans la cinquantaine,"] Zabihiyan, Bahador. Personal interview. 19 May 2016.

297 ["Ce concept de minorité, c'est bizarre pour moi. J'aime pas. C'est bizarre qu'on puisse mettre les gens dans des cases. 'Minorite visible,' 'pas visible,' déjà ça veut dire quoi ? […] Je suis moi. Je suis une personne. Après, ma couleur, ma race, ça ne regarde personne,"] Aït-Oumeziane, Karim. Personal interview. 24 May 2016.

298 ["Je refuse qu'on me catégorise,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

299 ["Les statistiques, c'est bon, mais je ne vais pas leur simplifier la tâche,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

300 ["Je suis plus qu'un quota, moi. Je suis un être humain. Embauchez les gens pour leurs compétences, quelle que soit leur couleur. Le quota, je n'y crois pas,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

301 ["Si je ne remplis pas la case, ça veut dire que la case est libre pour quelqu'un d'autre [et] on peut embaucher une personne pour la remplir,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[302] ["Se donner bonne conscience, on a fait notre bonne action, on a à peu près atteint notre quota, on est bon, on est fin envers les minorités culturelles, on les respecte, on les intègre …. Non! […] Si vous avez besoin d'atteindre un quota, faites-le à votre façon, mais je ne participe pas à la mascarade,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[303] ["Insultant,"] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[304] See note 302.

[305] ["Il y a cette culture là, ce raisonnement là qui [postule] : 'On a un arabe, ici, à la radio. On a, sans aucune méchanceté, une paire de yeux bridés ici. On a un noir, ou une noire, ici. Ça y'est, on a fait notre part,'"] Anonymous. Personal interview. 10 June 2016.

[306] ["C'est plus facile pour moi, blanc, de dire ça, mais je comprends. Je comprends et il faut respecter la décision des gens."] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 5 November 2014.

[307] "Multiculturalism."

[308] John Rawls, *Political Liberalism: Expanded Edition*, 166.

[309] Ibid.

[310] Constance Backhouse, *Colour-coded: a Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900- 1950*, 14.

[311] Stephen Gaetz, "Youth homelessness in Canada," 456.

[312] Kamila Hinkson, Kalina Laframboise, "Canadians divided when it comes to immigration, poll suggests,"cbc.com, 13 March 2017.

[313] *Ibid.*

[314] Azzeddine Marhraoui, "La lutte contre le racisme en l'absence de politique antiraciste: le cas du Québec (1990- 2004)."

[315] Gouvernement du Quebec. "Together, we are Québec: immigration, participation, and inclusion action strategy 2016–2021," 33.

[316] Léger, Jean-Marc, Jacques Nantel, and Pierre Duhamel, *Cracking the Quebec code: the 7 keys to understanding Quebecers*, 126.

[317] Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

[318] Bourhis et al., "Discrimination et linguicisme au Québec- Enquête sur la diversité ethnique au Canada."

[319] Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse, L'accès à l'égalité en emploi : Rapport triennal 2010-2013 - Loi sur l'accès à l'égalité en emploi dans des organismes publics, http://www.cdpdj.qc.ca/Publications/Rapport_triennal_PAE_2010_2013.pdf

[320] Eid, Paul, Meissoon Azzaria and Marion Quérat, "Mesurer la discrimination à l'embauche subie par les minorités racisées: résultats d'un « testing » mené dans le grand Montréal."

[321] See note 318.

[322] Michael Dewing, *Canadian multiculturalism*.

[323] Carol Agócs, ed., *Employment equity in Canada: the legacy of the Abella Report*.

[324] Raboy, Marc, William J. McIver, and Jeremy Shtern, *Media divides: communication rights and the right to communicate in Canada*.

[325] Canadian Radio‑Television and Telecommunications Commission, "Transcript of proceedings before the Canadian radio‑Television and Telecommunications Commission," http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/transcripts/2007/tb0921.htm.

[326] Conseil des relations interculturelles, "Une représentation et un traitement equitables de la diversité dans les medias et la publicité au Quêbec," 100. (translated from the original French)

[327] John Miller, "Who's telling the news?" Findings and Analysis, paragraph 10.

[328] Augie Fleras, *The media gaze*, 12.

[329] Ibid.

[330] Gwyneth Mellinger, Chasing newsroom diversity: from Jim Crow to affirmative action, 209. (in Notes)

[331] Bourhis et al.

[332] Albert, Chantal. Personal interview. 25 May 2016.

[333] ["Le reporter ne passait pas dans ces bulletins-là même avec les histories les plus intéressantes,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 10 June 2016.

[334] Lee Sigelman, "Reporting the News: An Organizational Analysis," 148.

[335] ["Les Québécois francophones francophones ont fermé la porte derrière eux,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 4 April 2017.

[336] Simon Cottle, "Series Editor's Forward," 20.

[337] R. Roosevelt Thomas Jr., "Diversity management: Some measurement criteria," 59.

[338] *Ibid*., 55.

[339] Dejean et al., "Students faced with religious radicalization leading to violence. The more you know, the more you can prevent."

[340] ["Un effort constant,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[341] ["Elle est arrivé après les évènements de 2008 et tous ceux qui ne connaissent pas Montréal-Nord qui ont vu ces évènements là, à la télévision, ont développé des préjugés sur Montréal-Nord. C'est malheureux, mais c'est comme ça,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 26 May 2016.

[342] ["Utile pour le citoyen,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[343] ["On lui donne et on se donne les moyens de mieux comprendre les enjeux,"] Roy, Patrice. Personal interview. 21 June 2016.

[344] Augie Fleras, *The media gaze*, 13.

[345] ["Cette culture d'entreprise, à Radio-Canada, fait que chacun se sent responsable et donc prend ses responsabilités et se dit 'Je suis maitre de mon environnement, je suis maitre de mon travail, je veux contrôler mon travail, donc ce n'est pas un patron qui va venir me dire quoi faire.' […] Les gens qui viennent ici ont envie de faire progresser Radio-Canada. Ce sont des gens très dévoués. […] Il y a un côté très 'engagement personnel,'"] Luc Tremblay. Personal interview. 27 May 2016.

[346] ["Des succès concrets,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 5 November 2015

[347] ["Valeurs positives,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. 5 November 2015.

[348] R. Roosevelt Thomas Jr., "Diversity management: Some measurement criteria," 55.

[349] Ibid., 59.

[350] ["Notre historique de travail avec les autochtones est assez …. Comment-dirais-je … assez pauvre en terme de résultats,"] Simard, Luc. Personal interview. June 10, 2016.

[351] Theodore L. Glasser, "Professionalism and the Derision of Diversity: The Case of the Education of Journalists," 132.

[352] Erin Tolley, *Framed: media and the coverage of race in Canadian politics*, 7.

[353] Bourhis et al.

[354] Albert W. Dzur, "Public Journalism," 166.

[355] James Bohman, "Deliberative inequalities," 109.

[356] Alice Chantal Tchandem Kamgang.

[357] ["Il ne veulent pas passer pour des gens antimusulman, par exemple. […] Quand il y a des histoires sur le terrorisme ou les soupçons de terrorisme ça souvent fait des nouvelles qui sont aux nouvelles de Radio-Canada pendant plusieurs jours. Et, là je le sens, ils font beaucoup d'efforts pour pas avoir l'air de gens […] qui font des liens rapides entre l'islam et le terrorisme. Tu vois qu'il y a une prudence dans le choix des mots, dans la façon de couvrir ça. […] C'est juste drôle. Je le vois un peu en ricanant. Ça démontre comment les gens ne sont pas habitués à ça : à voir des musulmans, à parler de musulmans. Les gens qui sont habitués à ça n'ont pas cette espèce de prudence et de peur,"] Ralph-Bonet Sanon. Personal interview. 17 May 2016.

[358] Rosie DiManno, "How the terror debate story took another unpleasant spin," Toronto Star, 12 November 2004.

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